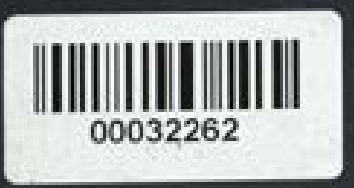
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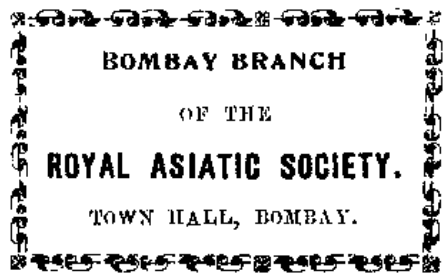

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MEMOIRES.

LONDON:
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Lord Orford's Memoires

George the Second

MEMOIRES

OF THE

LAST TEN YEARS

OF THE

REIGN OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

BY

HORACE WALPOLE, EARL OF ORFORD.

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Lord Oxford's Memoires

Mr. Fox

MEMOIRES

OF

THE YEAR 1756.

Laissant toujours avilir sa dignité, pour en jouir.
Volt. Hist. Univ. vol. i. p. 140.

THE parliament, which had adjourned during the holydays, met again Jan. 13. The opposition was enriched with Sir Harry Erskine, who having listed under Mr. Pitt, was dismissed from his post in the army. Mr. Pelham had formerly pressed the King to break him, but in vain. His Majesty now recollected that advice, and took upon himself to order this act of authority—had it been intended to turn the new patriots into ridicule, it could not have answered the purpose better.

1756. January. 'Parliament.'

France began to unfold the mystery of her moderation; yet with much caution. Monsieur Rouillè sent a memorial to Bonac, their resident at the Hague, which he delivered to Colonel Yorke, but making him give a receipt for it. It de-

Negotiations with France.

1756. January. manded, now the King was returned from Hanover, that he would punish those *brigands*, who had taken so many French ships, whose complaints, though often repeated, had still been disregarded. It demanded restitution. *That* granted, the court of Versailles would be ready to treat with us. In answer to this memorial, France was charged as the aggressor, by her encroachments in America. Restitution of territory on their part was demanded, before any reparation would be offerred on our side.

We had begun the war with flippancy, the Duke of Newcastle's general exordium, which he was not wont to prosecute with firmness: an unexpected event broke out, which accounted for his continuing to act with resolution. The Russians had been listed in our quarrel to awe the King of Prussia, and then our ministers dreaded the awe they had given. The opposition too, it was probable, intended to inflame his resentments on the Russian treaty: to obviate which, Mechell, the Prussian minister, had been assured, that nothing hostile was meant against his master; that if any word of that cast had slipped in, it was hoped he would excuse it: that we had no thought of giving him the first provocation. This had been taken well. We followed it with proposing to that prince a treaty of guarantee for the *Empire*. He changed the latter word for *Germany*, because formerly the Low Countries had been reckoned into the Empire, and he would not be involved in a war for them. He desired that the treaty so modified might be returned to him directly, that he might show it to the Duc de Nivernois, whom France was sending to engage

Accommodation with the King of Prussia.

him in their quarrel. This guarantee for Germany, this thorn drawn out of the side of Hanover, dispelled at once the King's aversion to his nephew. The terms were joyfully accepted, and the treaty was signed Jan. 17th. 1756. January.

21st.—The committee of the whole house, preparatory to a new bill, which George Townshend (to please him), was ordered to bring in, voted all the old acts of parliament, relating to the militia, useless. 'Parliament.'

23d.—Beckford complained to the house of Admiral Knowles's tyrannic government of Jamaica, whom he abused immeasurably, and of which he quoted many instances, and moved for several papers necessary to a prosecution. Fox said that Knowles was already recalled; and indirectly seemed to defend him. Pitt took it up with great warmth and solemnity, cast reflections on Fox for endeavouring to screen the guilty, and paid great court to Beckford, who, till now, had appeared to prefer Mr. Fox. The papers were granted. Of the affair I shall say no more; it drew out to great length; Fox openly espoused Knowles, who was cleared triumphantly, Beckford having charged him with much more than he had proofs or power to make out. Affair of Admiral Knowles.

The same day Sir George Lyttelton, the new chancellor of the exchequer, opened the ways and means for the supplies of the year. The matter he unfolded well, but was strangely awkward and absent in reading the figures and distinguishing the sums. Pitt ridiculed and hurt him; yet he made a good reply, and told Pitt that truth was a better answer than eloquence; and having called him *his friend*, and correcting 'Supplies.'

1756. January. 'Parliament.'

himself to say *the gentleman*, and the house laughing, Sir George said, "If he is not my friend, it is not *my* fault." Pitt was sore in his turn; and the dialogue continued, with great professions of esteem from Lyttelton, of contempt from Pitt; who at last grew into good-humour; but with regard to the imputation of eloquence, said, he found there were certain ways of answering certain men.

A day was spent without any issue on the vice-treasurership of Ireland, which had been lately split into three, to make a disposition for Ellis: the other two were lords. George Grenville questioned whether a third sharer could sit in parliament, consistently with the act which forbids subdivisions of places. The debate, after some hours, was put off till inquiry could be made in Ireland, whether this partition was novel or not.

'Grants to North America.'

28th.—The government proposed to parliament to bestow 120,000*l.* as a reward on such persons and colonies of North America, as had distinguished their zeal and activity on the new commotions. Five thousand pounds was particularly destined to Sir William Johnson, the avenger of Braddock. Charles Townshend, with great warmth, opposed the gross sum, unless it was to be accounted for. Pitt pursued the attack, and said, we had a disjointed ministry, who united only in corrupt and arbitrary measures. Fox replied with great spirit, thanking Pitt for the great service he did him by his attacks, and assuring him that he knew of no disunion; that he believed Pitt himself did not, or he would join with one part of the administration against the other, as he had done formerly.

1756. January.

But his complaints being general, proved a general harmony, except with one family; and their clamours would never pass for the voice of the nation: George Grenville flamed at these words, but the Speaker and Lord Strange interposed, and the debate was adjourned to give way to a bill on linnens. After the debate, Pitt and Fox talking it over, the latter told the other, that so far from any disagreement between himself and Newcastle, there were men, (meaning the two Townshends), who had offerred that duke to abandon Pitt, if his grace previously would give up Fox—and the latter would have named them; but Pitt could guess too well, not to wave such an explanation. It must not be supposed that Charles Townshend bore any inveteracy to Fox; he left all bitterness to his brother; and was content with promoting confusion. The money was granted in the next committee without a division, but not without many reflections from the new opponents. Beckford alone would have given a larger sum; and Legge, who aimed at governing and drawing Lord Halifax into their system, approved what, he said, he was sure under that lord's management would be liable to no abuse.

'Parliament and parties.'

France beginning to retaliate on our vessels, and threatening some attempt on our coast, the new Hessian mercenaries were sent for, and assistance according to treaty demanded from Holland. Lord Ravensworth, whether to reconcile himself to the King, or to distress the administration, for both his views and manner of disclosing them were very unintelligible, proposed to send rather for Hanoverians; but without support or success.

'Hessians sent for.'

1756. January. 'Mischiefs produced by marriage act.'

A little event happened that demonstrated the mischiefs produced by the marriage act: one Grierson, a minister, was convicted of solemnizing matrimony contrary to that law. No fewer than 1400 marriages were said to be dissolved on his conviction, in which number 900 women were actually pregnant. The chancellor triumphed in punishing so many who had dared to contravene his statute: a more humane man would have sighed to have made such numbers suffer even by a *necessary* law.

On the next affair, though of very little importance, seven tedious days were wasted in the House of Commons, besides a debate in the Lords. Like other fuel for opposition, the subject, when it had once passed into a bill, was never remembered more. Every topic is treated in parliament as if the liberty and fate of the country depended upon it: and even this solemnity, often vented on trifles, has its use. The certainty of discussion keeps administration in awe, and preserves awake the attention of the representatives of the people. Ministers are, and should be, suspected as public enemies: the injustice arising to them, or the prejudice to the country by such jealousy, can hardly ever be adequate to the mischief they may do in a moment, if too much is left to their power, if too much trust is reposed in their integrity. But to the point in question. One Prevot, a refugee adventurer, recommended by the Princess of Orange, had ingratiated himself with the Duke, and was countenanced by him in a proposal of raising four Swiss battalions to be blended with new levies in our colonies, and employed in North America: the com-

'Prevot's regiment.'

mander to be English; Prevot, second in command. The officers to have co-equal benefits with the natives *there*, but to acquire *here* no rank or advantage. In consequence of this plan, February 9th, an estimate of the charge was presented to the house by the secretary at war, who introduced it with a description of the advantages which the Americans, sensible of their want of discipline, would derive from being led by experienced officers. Pitt, instead of censuring the scheme, dwelt on the tardiness of it, painted the negligence of the administration since the peace of Aix, from the very date of which they had had reason to suspect the designs of France; lamented Lord Loudun, who was placed at the head of a scroll of paper; compared two miserable battalions of 1000 men sent from hence, with 3000 dispatched thither by the French; and asked, if it was but at that day that the administration began to defend America? Did they not know that this could not be a force before August?—yet he would take this because no better [was] to be had. The foreign officers would undergo another consideration: he should not be for them. Lord Barrington replied, that 8900 men were already voted for the service of America. Charles Townshend, a perfect master of our West Indian affairs and history, gave a detail of many enterprizes that had failed by a mixture of Europeans and Americans; wherever the latter only [were] employed, the swiftness of recruiting had been incredible; when blended, in three years 2000 men had not been levied. As he knew our neglects in that quarter of the world better than Pitt, he was not less gentle in lashing them. Pitt, as if left behind in

1756. January. February. Debates on Prevot's regiment.

1756. February. 'Debate on Prevot's regiment.'

the race, again resumed it: asked Lord Barrington if he would presume to say that there were actually 3000 men in arms in America? would he add paper to paper? He himself should pity Lord Loudun, if stated as a commander of sufficient force! He professed being hostile to no man, was friendly to his King and country; but the inadvertence of his Majesty's ministers had brought his age to the brink of destruction—yet it was no comfort to look back and blame; it was a pleasure to try to be of service. There had been a long series of ignorance, and incapacity, and collusion, since the treaty of Aix; our ministers had gone on, hardly complaining, quite acquiescing! Lord George Sackville spoke very sensibly on the situation of affairs, with some reproof on ministers, but charging more on the defects of the constitution of our colonies, which ought to have one power established there, as the French government in their settlements is one. On the Pensylvanian Quakers he was more sharp, and with great reason; they had defeated every plan of defence, were careless against the French, acrimonious out of season against their governor, and had passed a militia law, which they meant should be ineffectual. The estimate, amounting to 81,000*l.*, was voted without a division.

The next day, Lord Barrington moved for leave to bring in the bill, and explained the restrictions it was to contain. Pitt thanked the ministry for having departed from their first plan, which had been calculated to consist entirely of foreigners: yet he ascribed the honour of this mitigation to the opposition made, and said, that ever since they had heard the

1756. February. 'Debate on Prevot's regiment.'

first objections, the ministers had been trying to play with poison and dilute it, yet still it was poison. If others would take it for a remedy, let the bill be brought in; though he had thought it wrong from the first concoction. He charged the plan as a violation of the act of settlement, on which supposition this and all the following debates rolled. He said, he heard that we wanted Dutch engineers for sieges—what sieges had the Dutch made? English officers had behaved every where with lustre, the Dutch no where. Were Dutch engineers of such value, that we should *pro tunto* repeal the act of settlement?—but wanted! were officers wanted? was it a symptom of scarcity of officers, when you have just broken a brave * officer, distinguished with marks of two wounds, and by the applause of the Duke; and who was cashiered for nothing but his vote in parliament! Fox called to order, and asked the Speaker, if that assertion was not a violation of it—I ask the house their opinion, cried Pitt; and though the house should forbid me at the bar, as long as my mind reproaches the author of it, I will say it is my opinion that he was broken for his vote. He has changed his phrase, replied Fox; he asserted—he now believes. He cannot prove it, and it was kind to stop him. If the house commands me, said the Speaker, I will speak: who asserts, I suppose, is ready to prove. He may say he believes. They who advise a measure are responsible. Pitt, fortified with this declaration (and without it he would not have retracted), persisted; bidding Fox,

* Sir H. Erskine.

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armed with arbitrary power, and with that majority of which he had heard so much, bring him to the bar: and he told him, it was the characteristic of the present administration to break the act of settlement for pretended utility; and in this case the utility was so small, that it was stabbing that act with a bodkin. Fox answered, that he should be ashamed to think this scheme had been altered for Pitt's objections; and asked how it was possible to debate, without urging the expedience of what was contended for? that Pitt had asked what pledge of fidelity these foreigners were to give—in three centuries what Swiss had ever betrayed any country? With regard to the dismission of Sir Harry Erskine, no apology was necessary. Twenty years ago, when Lord Westmorland, Lord Cobham, and Mr. Pitt himself, had been dismissed, the opposition would have brought in a bill to prevent such removals; but it would have been making officers independent both of the crown and of parliament, and was rejected. Pitt allowed, that he thought officers might be broken, even without recourse to a court-martial: and Sir Harry Erskine himself affected to say that he did not complain of his dismission: a civil or a military life was indifferent to him: yet he could wish, if there were any other cause than his vote, that Mr. Fox would declare it. James Grenville, in a formal obscure speech, produced a clause of the act of settlement, by which he would have proved that this bill could not be received, unless another were first passed, by which any foreigners to be naturalized must renounce employments; and he instanced in bills of that purport passed

for the marriages of King William and the Prince of Orange. The debate took entirely this turn, the opposition asserting that this would be a bill of naturalization, and if so, not receivable: the administration, that it gave them something more than naturalization. Pitt declared himself struck with Grenville's remark, which had not been communicated to him; and urged the ministry with giving to these foreigners *per saltum* the very excepted parts; and with bestowing on officers in the dregs of the republic of Holland what had been withheld from the Prince of Orange. Murray would have evaded this by asking if any thing in the bill tended to naturalization? The Speaker declared there was such an appearance. George Grenville said, by this evasion the ministry will have only to omit the word *naturalization*, and it may grant what advantages it pleases to foreigners. "But," said Lord Strange, "in Arabia none but a native can purchase a mare: suppose the prince of the country gave me permission to buy a mare, would he naturalize me?" It passed by 165 to 57 that the bill should be brought in.

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The bill was read for the first time on the 12th. Pitt and Charles Townshend ridiculed the various forms into which the scheme had shifted. The former asked how the blanks were to be filled up, and if it was for ever to be a floating mark never to be hit? From Lord Barrington he did not expect much information, to whom, with Hotspur, he would say, that which thou dost not know, that thou canst not tell: and he said, the ministers had got something in their hands which

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they neither knew how to hold or drop. The other went farther, and insinuated expectations of seeing more foreigners brought over by side-winds. Lord Barrington replied, that no government presumed to fill up blanks in an act of parliament. Proposals were made for taking the opinion of the colonies on this plan. The bill was ordered to be printed, and the debate adjourned by agreement to the second reading.

The 18th, Charles Townshend presented a petition from the agent for the settlement at Massachusets-bay against the proposed Swiss battalions. Pitt moved to have laid before the house two petitions from Pensylvania, representing the distressed situation of their province. Fox, for seven more, in which they implore assistance. Sir Richard Lyttelton, for the list of officers on half-pay, insinuating how little occasion there was to employ foreigners. Lord Barrington then moved to have the bill committed, which Sir H. Erskine opposed. Horace Walpole the younger discussed the question, whether this regulation would be an infringement of the act of settlement, of which, he said, nobody could be more tender, as he had lately shown by opposing the treaties, which he had thought clashed with that act. A litteral infringement he allowed it would be, but merely litteral, and the benefits to be reaped by departing from the letter, he was of opinion would come within the very spirit of the act, were undoubtedly consonant to the intention of the legislators who framed it, and tended to secure the blessings of that very establishment to a considerable number of our fellow subjects. That the legis-

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lators may be, and generally are, the greatest men of their age, yet their notions and ideas must flow, and are taken up from the views of their own age; and though they build for posterity, yet they build with materials of their own time: that they attempt to prevent as far as they foresee: that any constitution, however wisely framed, if once declared unalterable, must become a grievance: wise and happy as our own is, did it not grow so by degrees? should we presume to pronounce that it received the last perfecting hand in the reign of King William? subsequent alterations showed it had not. That the great purpose of the patriots of that reign, when by the misrule of their native kings they were reduced to place a foreign family on the throne, had been to guard against the predilection of their new sovereigns in favour of ancient subjects, and to secure their posterity from being enslaved by those who were introduced to protect liberty. This country had experienced how little even English kings could resist practicing against English liberty; a race of German princes, accustomed to arbitrary government, was still more likely to grasp at arbitrary power. That these apprehensions had dictated that clause in the act of settlement which prohibits any foreigner born from being so far naturalized as to be capable of any employment civil or military—and there the words did clash with the scheme in question. The Swiss and Germans settled in Pensylvania were excluded by the act of settlement from the glorious privilege of defending the country they had preferred to their own; were debarred from fighting in an

1756. February. 'Author's speech on Swiss regiments.'

1756. February. 'Author's speech on Swiss regiments.'

English quarrel, which at the same time was become their own. He was aware, he said, that the act only specified that they should be incapable of commissions; but a raw undisciplined multitude, not only not commanded by officers of their own, but not understanding the commands of those under whom they were to serve, would introduce confusion instead of utility; and unless they might have proper officers, it would be rashness to employ the men. The framers of the act of settlement did not foresee that a time would come when from the too christian spirit of the Quakers, and the too unchristian ambition of France, our most valuable colonies would be in immediate danger. They did not foresee that this danger would meet with a providential resource on the very spot: that an hundred thousand Germans and Swiss, animated by the most amiable principles, zeal for religion, passion for liberty, and a spirit of industry, would be actually settled in the heart of the province most exposed—if they had, would they have been patriots, if they had still narrowed the act of settlement to the rigour it now wore? No, Sir, said he; nor when they formed a great act on the plan of their fears, did they apprehend that England would ever be enslaved by an army of Germans that should take America in their way. But putting the most extravagant of all suppositions, that there could hereafter be an intention of employing these almost constitutional troops against the constitution, whether would it be most likely, that Swiss republicans, and Germans fled from monarchy, would fight for a king attempting to make himself

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arbitrary, or in defence of liberty which they had travelled even to America to seek? What should induce a Saltzburgher, for instance, who had abjured his own ecclesiastic tyrant, to serve an English king in a still more unconsecrated cause? Nobody, he believed, was so visionary as to impute any such scheme to the royal person on the throne; nor would he dwell on the experience which the nation had had for near thirty years of how incapable his Majesty was of attempting to violate the most minute part of the constitution. In his long and happy reign he could recollect but one instance, which, in the most strained construction, could make the most jealous suspect that his Majesty meditated even to surprize us into subjection; and that was, by governing Hanover with so parental a hand, as if he meaned to insinuate to Englishmen that they might be the happiest subjects in the world, though under an arbitrary prince. He was persuaded, he said, that no gentleman could disapprove the deviation in question from the act of settlement, but from apprehensions of its being drawn into a precedent—he would state the case: could the most designing minister come to parliament (for before they get rid of parliament, they must make use of it against itself), and say, in the year 1756 you consented to allow commissions to about forty foreign officers to regiment and discipline a proportion of Swiss and Germans, none of them Hanoverians, in Pensylvania, to defend that province against the encroachments of the French, when the quaker natives would not, and you could not, raise troops to defend them: and therefore we

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hope you will have no scruple to violate it again now, perhaps in the year 1800, but will let us import into England some regiments of Hanoverians already raised and disciplined?—no; they could not say this; and when a precedent does not tally, it is in no danger of becoming a precedent. King William's patriots could not mean that any part of the West Indies should be sacrificed to France, rather than suffer it to be defended by a providential supply of foreigners whom tyranny had driven, not invited, thither. Who was there, at this day, who did not commiserate the blind bigotry of the Jews *, who thought God capable of giving them so absurd a precept, as a prohibition of defending their country on a Sunday?

This is the light, Sir, said he, in which I protest I see it: I think I execute the will of those great men better by departing from, than by adhering to the letter of that valuable testament they left us. Could it be possible for them to have been narrow-minded enough to have intended such rigid minuteness, common sense would teach me to reject so prejudicial a bequest—and yet, Sir, though I have declared my opinion so strongly, if even this clause in the act of settlement should still occasion difficulty, as I hope it will not be efficient to obstruct the scheme, I should not be sorry to see it. Even a litteral violation of such an act is too material to be passed over lightly: we ought to show that we do not supersede a single sentence of it without weighty consideration. I never wish to see unanimity on such a measure: unanimity is a

* Yet the Jews were but a seventh part so great fools as the Quakers.

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symptom of monarchy; jealousy is constitutional; and not only constitutional, but the principle of our existence. If our ancestors had intended only an assembly of deliberation, the privy-council, or that more compact body of wisdom, the cabinet-council, might have sufficed to deliberate. We were calculated to suspect, to doubt, to check—I think, Sir, added he, we have already shown that we do not proceed wantonly or inconsiderately. One honourable gentleman (Pitt) with whom I must ever lament to differ, by standing up for the very letter of the act, has given all the weight that can be given to it—his dissent is sufficient deliberation—and I flatter myself that my agreeing with *those* who think that in the point before us the letter and the spirit jar, and who, I know, feel as warmly for the constitution, and who have taken all imaginable precaution to preserve the integrity of the act without losing so necessary a service, will not be interpreted as any want of attachment to so essential a bulwark of our liberties.

I am sensible how much too large a space this speech occupies in these Memoires, and how indecently such weak arguments are displayed at length, while the opinions of many great men are sedulously contracted. Yet the author had some reasons which he hopes will excuse this seeming arrogance. He wished to give an instance that he acted freely, spoke freely: and as he seldom has had, or sought, occasion to mention himself, he trusts that this one excess will be overlooked, especially as it produced a memorable saying of the King, to whom the author is willing to do honour where he

1756. February. can, as he always has done justice on him when he deserved the contrary. Horace Walpole lived in friendship with Fox, in harmony with Pitt, and rather thought better of the conduct of the latter. Having declared openly against the treaties, he would not turn with Fox to a defence of them, and had surprized, by deserting, him. He had now been desirous of showing that that separation had been only temporary, and yet he could not resist paying greater compliments to Pitt in the very speech intended for support of Fox—but Walpole always leaned most to a man in opposition. Why he flattered the King in this speech is not so comprehensible; nor could he give any reason for it himself: it was unnecessary, it was out of character and without any view, for he never even went to court. Fox repeated the compliment to the King: he was pleased; but said, he did not expect Walpole would have spoken on that side; adding, "You may blame me here, Fox, but I will tell you the truth; I try to make my people at Hanover as happy as I can, and they deserve it of me."

'Debate on Swiss regiments continued.' Young Hamilton pursued the argument on the act of settlement with great ability, and urged, that not to deviate from it would be to defeat it; the chief end of it had been to prevent men unconversant with our country and laws from having the administration of them; but now it was alledged to hinder the service of another country, America. Foreigners there had only become soldiers, because they no longer could be planters; yet gentlemen seemed to turn their eyes from existing dangers to imaginary. The debate lasted till ten at

night, but neither with remarkable events nor speeches, and it passed by 215 to 63 to commit the bill. Charles Townshend again pressed to hear Bollan and the agents and General Waldo on Monday.

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On the 20th the committee sat. Pitt ridiculed with much humour this scheme which the ministry so greatly applauded, and yet with which the nation would not have been blessed, if by a fortuitous concurrence of circumstances Prevot had not been taken prisoner in August, and carried into Brest, if he had not been going an adventurer to America, and had not found his way from Brest hither*; and if, after all, he had not taken it into his head to have a regiment. He wished this Ulysses-like wanderer might be as wise! wished the ministers would wait but till Monday, to hear the colonies! He had been told indeed that the immutable laws of the Medes were absurd—were the resolutions of ministers to be more unchangeable than those of the King of Persia—of Xerxes with his multitude at his heels? He did not comprehend this modelling, rejecting, resuming, shaping, altering; he believed all this beautifull mechanism had been employed about it, but you that are to buy it, will they not let you examine and weigh it, and know the intrinsic value? Fox said, Lord Baltimore and Pen were not limited by any act of settlement, but could commission foreigners. The Massachusets can naturalize and then commission them. He had never wished any ministers

* He had been met by Governor Lyttelton, who was taken in the Blandford by the French.

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should be immutable; God forbid they should be so in any sense! if common sense on their side, they would be in the wrong to be immutable. But would you hear Mr. Bollan on the act of settlement? his whole petition was against the regiment; tended to reject the bill, not to alter it. Pen, continued he, authorizes me, Lord Baltimore authorizes me, to approve this bill, though they did not think it decent to petition for it. I have been told that from Bollan we should hear of injustice, oppression, ingratitude—I cannot believe it, for I remember what passed in a certain assembly some time ago between two persons, * one not present now, the other, I believe, is, (looking about indirectly towards Charles Townshend.) The person now here bad the other *take the poor American by the hand and point out his grievances: he defied him; if that would not do, he beseeched him to point out a single grievance; for his part, he did not know of one.* When that day shall come, added Fox, I hope that gentleman, who speaks as well as the honorable person himself over against me, will attend and confute both Mr. Bollan and his introductor.

Affair of Fox and Charles Townshend.

Charles Townshend at the first shock was thunderstruck†; they had been his own words to Lord Egmont, had been faithfully treasured in Fox's accurate memory, and were brought out with all the art and severity imaginable—but in a moment Townshend recovered himself, struck his hand on his forehead as feeling the impulse of conception, and starting up, replied with inimitable spirit and quickness, "That every one saw

* Lord Egmont. † See page 365, of the year 1754, vol. i.

whither those prepared observations pointed; he took them to himself—and what had been the case? Lord Egmont had complained of the civil government of the colonies, and of the instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn, which I, I advised, and which, cried he, I am ready to fight over. I never complained of *civil* oppression—I *am* ready to meet Fox and his *aid de camp* Lord Egmont—the oppression I mean is in the *military*. The soldiers have been promised rewards—they have been kept in garrison contrary to promise—have I made out the distinction? —if I have, then I say this is an unmanly attack on a young man."—Fox's friends called out, Order! order!—Townshend rejoined, "Order! order! unmanly! is that disorderly?—upon my word, these are the nicest feelings in Xerxes's troops that ever I knew." This flash of wit put a whole majority out of countenance. A grain less of parts, or a scruple more of modesty, had silenced Townshend for ever. "Fox," continued he, "cries, 'What! hear Bollan on the act of settlement!' he chose to enter on no other part of my argument—and then he talked of mutability—there was forage and joking for the troops!"

1756. February. 'Fox and Charles Townshend.'

Fox with great art observed what satisfaction it gave him to hear that there was no oppression in the civil government; and thus pinned down Charles Townshend from producing a detail of grievances that he had prepared on American affairs. The rest of the debate was most indifferent, or could not avoid appearing so: 213 against 82 voted against hearing Bollan. The opposition then tried by four divisions to prevent the

'Divisions.'

1756. February. 'Swiss Regiment Bill opposed in all its stages.'

prosecution of the bill in the committee; but the ministry persisting in making no farther answers, at past eleven at night Pitt and his followers walked out, and the only blank in the bill was filled up, as Lord George Sackville proposed, with the words *fifty officers and twenty engineers.*

Two days afterwards the bill was reported and again opposed, as it was on the last reading, when the ministry, tired with debating, and making no reply, Charles Townshend, in a fine animated and provoking speech, tried to make them break silence, taunting the majority with following leaders who would not vouchsafe to give them reasons, reproaching the ministers with the insult of their silence, and calling on the new placemen to give some proofs of being fit for their posts, the arrangement of which, and the various reasons of fear or convenience which had contributed to the late settlement, he described with much humour and wit. Fox, smiling, told him, he called so agreeably, that he should never call in vain; and yet, plainly as Mr. Townshend had spoken, he did not know under what part of the description to suppose himself included: he could not be the insolent minister; it requires more parts than I have, said Fox, to support insolence. But why am I silent?—have I been so on this bill? Have I not been reproached with talking too often on it? I ask pardon, and have nothing new to say on it, but this, that I objected to hearing Bollan, because Mr. Townshend can speak as readily and knows as much. I rest my credit on what I have said before; only observing, that the majority which Mr. Town-

shend calls mean, I believe he does not think a mean one. Pitt spoke again for an hour and half, but without fire or force; and old Horace Walpole terminated this tedious affair with the lowest buffoonry, telling a long story of an old man and his wife; that the husband said to her, "Goody Barrington, for that was her name—I must not falsify my story:—if it had been Onslow, I must have said it," continued he, addressing himself to the Speaker; who replied, very properly, "Sir, one old woman may make as free as she pleases with another." The bill passed by 198 to 69. 1756. February. Swiss Regiment Bill passes the Commons;

In the House of Lords it was attacked by Lord Temple, and defended by Lord Halifax. Lord Dacre, a worthy conscientious man, unpracticed in speaking, asked with great modesty and diffidence, if it was true that there were orders given for listing in Germany: if it was, he should alter his vote and oppose the bill. It occasioned confusion: at last Lord Halifax owned, he believed it was true. The Duke had given such orders without participation of the Duke of Newcastle. The bill passed without a division; yet Lord Temple and Lord Talbot protested in words drawn by Charles Townshend. and Lords.

In France the prosecution of the war was by no means an unanimous measure. D'Argenson, the promoter of it, was on ill terms with Madame Pompadour, whose interest was to lull the king and nation in pleasures and inactivity, not to foment events that might shake her power. It received a blow from another quarter. The Cardinal de la Rochfoucault, and Sassy, Anecdote of Madame Pompadour.

1756. February. the king's confessor, played off the earthquake on his superstition: he promised to receive the sacrament at Easter, and relinquish his mistress. She, who held more by habit than passion, saw no reason why a woman might not work the machine of religion as well as a priest,—and instantly gave into all his majesty's scruples; offerred up her *rouge* to the dæmon of earthquakes, and to sanctify her conversion and reconcile it to a court-life, procured herself to be declared *Dame du palais* to the queen.

Debates on budget and taxes.

Feb. 25th.—Sir George Lyttelton, as chancellor of the exchequer, opened the plan of supplies and taxes for the current year. The first, a duty on wrought plate, was calculated to bring in 30,000*l.* a year. Another, on bricks and tiles, and a double duty on cards and dice; the actual duty produced 10,000*l.* a year; but as doubling the tax would not double the produce, the addition was estimated at only 7000*l.* a year. This, said Sir George, some will think a tax on *necessaries:* the legislature calls gaming a vice; but the legislators, who can best expound their own laws, seem, by their practice, to think otherwise. Legge objected to either tax on plate or bricks; and showed with singular art how much greater a master he was of the nature of the revenue and commerce than his successor. Sir George seemed to repeat an oration on trade that he had learned by rote; Legge talked on it like a merchant. He urged that plate was not a prejudicial commodity, but a dead treasure, to be resorted to on an emergency: if sold, it would go abroad; if coined here, did

not increase the national stock. He showed that bricks would be a partial tax, as many parts of the kingdom employ only stone. But within the volume of our duties there was actually a fund of taxes that might be drawn out without any new impositions, the old were so fraudulently levied, or so injudiciously distributed. He instanced in the duty on tea, which being regulated by Sir John Barnard, produced near double, and demolished smuggling. By reduction of the duty on raw silk, it rose from 800*l.* per ann. to 15,000*l.* That on hemp, if reduced, would produce much more. George Townshend proposed taxes on the number of servants, and on exportation of horses, because no French officer had fewer than two English horses. Murray asked if many of our taxes were not partial; on cyder, on malt, on coals? Lord Strange objected strongly to the brick-tax, because the houses that ought to pay most, those of the rich, are built of stone. Vyner observed, that a tax on plate was teaching servants to turn informers. The plate-tax passed. That on bricks was postponed, and at last dropped, on finding how prejudicial it would be and unpopular. It was changed for one on ale-houses.

1756. February. 'New taxes.'

March 3d.—On the report from the committee for the tax on plate, it was a day of total ignorance: Fox, Hume Campbell, and Pitt, all showed how little they understood the subject. The shrewdness of the first, the assertions of the second, the diction of the latter, were ridiculously employed on a topic that required only common sense, and a little knowledge of business. Legge alone shone: he entered, beyond

March. 'Tax on plate.'

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his usual brevity, into a detail of the nature of coin, exchange, gold, silver, premiums, and the mistaken or real advantages of those manufactures. He observed, that plate was not luxury, but a national way of hoarding; that this tax was to cease where luxury began, for the greatest lords were not to pay beyond 2000 ounces. That it would all go abroad, unless the proportions of gold and silver were regulated. That Mr. Locke's first treatise on that subject had been written to serve a purpose: he had afterwards understood the matter better. That while we overvalued gold in proportion to silver, the French were taking the contrary extreme in order to draw silver into their country, and to encourage the manufacture of plate, which proved a beneficial article of their trade, and of which we were discharging ourselves. Of all dead stock, plate was the most valuable. Louis the Fourteenth and Charles the First had made great use of the resource of plate. When employed, it comes out with its whole value about it. The reputation of a stock of it has its weight. Would you in the outset of a war produce your last stake? Would you, while increasing your paper-substance by borrowing on the sinking fund, diminish your real treasure? Many other taxes would produce above 30,000*l.*

On the second reading of the bill, Legge argued against it with more warmth: if gathered loosely, it would produce a trifle; if strictly, three times as much as granted for. France would think us bankrupt; no nation had done this but in sieges and civil wars. He condemned it as a register of so

much personal estate; and as this knowledge would assist the housebreaker in his campaign; and as it would go to the destruction of one of the most flourishing manufactures in Europe, producing clear for the labour alone 32,000*l.* a year. Our silversmiths would now go to France, and the plate would meet them there to be worked. Sir George Lyttelton remarked that Legge's arguments went against all inland duties in general; and that as little wealth ought to lie dead as possible. That on laying the coach-tax, the coach-makers came to the treasury and complained they should be ruined; yet their trade had increased since. If we took a galeon, would it be adviseable to lay up the treasure against a day of calamity? He defended the method of collecting this duty by excisemen; did not find that excise was now so terrible: Sir Francis Dashwood had proposed an excise on meat, and he had not perceived that it had much shocked the house—in fact, no powers, he said, were more gently exercised than those of excise. No complaint had been made on the coach-tax: this was to be under the same regulation. Our trade would not bear more customs; nor could we support the war, but by a despotic mortgage of the whole sinking-fund. His chief partiality to the plate-tax arose from the poor being exempt from it. George Grenville spoke well, chiefly censuring this as a tax to be paid on honour—had the coach-tax been honorably paid? The land-tax at the Revolution was laid on honour; did honour tax itself fairly? Here only middling persons were to be rated; the poor and the rich were equally exempted. This

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1756. March. 'Tax on plate.'

would be a sort of *don gratuit*, or benevolence; the worst sort of tax. The parliament of Paris was copying our best times —from what were we copying? Murray pleaded that, by leaving the most magnificent sort of plate, which is only where there is above 2000 ounces, untaxed, no discouragement would be given to the manufacture. Dr. Hay saying that this tax was unlike that on coaches, for they, if not used, did not pay; Doddington replied, that he hoped Dr. Hay would not wish the taxes postponed, till such could be found as all men would approve. He did profess himself unequal to speak to what many did know they were unequal to hear; but could not comprehend how men, who had so long gone on losing so much interest by a stock of plate, should now declare they would eat on trenchers, because it was to be taxed at an halfpenny an ounce. He observed how contradictory the objections were: in the same breath complaints were made that this tax subjected us to excise, and was a tax upon honour. The only unanswerable objection he had heard, was, that we were over-taxed already. He wished we had been as scrupulous in former wars, yet this was the only war he remembered, purely English.

The new duty was carried by 245 to 142. Yet if Fox would have yielded to it, the Duke of Newcastle would have given up the tax. It produced at last but 18,000*l*.

Tranquillity restored in Ireland.

Let us turn our eyes for a moment to Ireland, where tranquillity was at last restored by the prudence of Mr. Conway, and by the venality of the patriots. Mr. Conway was

armed with all the powers and all the qualities that could compose the animosities of a factious people, inflamed by mercenary chiefs; for he had authority to satisfy their demands, his virtue gave no hold to abuse, his temper kept *him* impartial, and his good sense kept the Duke of Devonshire so. The patriots dismissed the woes of their country, for which they had no longer occasion; Mr. Boyle was first restored to the chancellorship of the exchequer; Carter was made secretary of state; and Malone, King's council: pensions, with arrears, were restored to the sufferers, and sprinkled on others; and, at the conclusion of the session, Mr. Boyle, for an earldom and a pension, resigned the chair to Mr. Ponsonby, brother-in-law of the lord lieutenant; Malone consented to accept a lucrative employment; and Sir Arthur Gore a peerage; but the late Speaker being burnt in effigy by the mob, and Malone being insulted at his own door, the latter was terrified, and declined from fear what he could not resist from virtue: Sir Arthur Gore, too, waved his peerage for the present. On the departure of the Duke of Devonshire, the chancellor, Lord Kildare, and Lord Besborough, were appointed lords justices. The primate, enraged at this arrangement, quarrelled with his friend the new Speaker, who was so far qualified to succeed Mr. Boyle, that he made as little scruple to sacrifice his connections, to promote himself. The primate had tried to make him Speaker; Lord Kildare had opposed it: the primate was now dropped; and Lord Kildare and Mr. Ponsonby's father divided the government between them; for the chancellor

1756. March. 'Ireland.'

1756. March. was in a languishing state, came over to England, and died soon after *.

England began to be alarmed with an invasion from France; the ministry had already made a requisition of the troops which Holland ought by treaty to furnish us. Fox, Lord Granville, and Lord Anson, had foretold that they would be refused; Newcastle and the chancellor insisted they would be sent; demanded them, and were refused. On this, a message was delivered to both houses, to notify his Majesty's having sent for the Hessians in his pay: it was received with some murmurs, but not opposed. Lord George Sackville, either to throw difficulties on the Duke of Newcastle, with whom he was angry on Irish accounts, or to pay court to the throne, hinted a preference to Hanoverians, whose behaviour, as soldiers, he much commended. This thought was embraced—if it had not been concerted; and on the 29th of April, he proposed, in form, to address the King to send for his electoral troops, after stating the weakness of the country, the vast extent of unguarded coast, and the opinion of officers in favour of the utility and good service of those foreigners. The Tories owned they preferred Hanoverians to Hessians; but Pitt, who came down ill, and affirming that nothing but the importance of the question should have drawn him out of his bed, spoke long against the measure:

Hessians and Hanoverians sent for.

April.

* The new Speaker soon came over too, and went to Newmarket: George Selwyn seeing him very busy at the hazard-table, said, "With what expedition the Speaker passes the money-bills!"

pleaded his respect for the King as the cause of his opposition, as he feared we should advise his Majesty's involving another country of his in equal or worse peril than our own. That this would be offerring him our advice in his electoral capacity: that in no period of his life he had spoken against the Hanoverians as bad troops: that against what force the French could land we had certainly sufficient defence: that in 1690, when France had beaten our fleet at Beachy-head, and had an army in Ireland, yet we had surmounted all that danger. That, in the Dutch war, even with a suspected king, we had coped with Holland and France. De Witte, the greatest man since Plutarch, had proposed an invasion to D'Estrades, but he treated it as a chimeric attempt. Burnet says, the Wirtemberghers were cruel friends: he should be for sending these Hanoverians to Ireland: he would vote for raising any number of new troops: the last unfortunate war had formed many great officers; he would not interpose these foreigners to the promotion of those gallant men; nor would force a vote upon the King, when he might send for his troops without. Lord George replied with great spirit and sense; and the motion was agreed to by 259 to 92. The next day this resolution was communicated at a conference to the lords, who agreed to it, after a severe speech from Lord Winchelsea against the new patriots *.

1756. April. 'Hessians and Hanoverians.'

* A *bon mot*, much repeated at this time, was not more favorable to the King, who, making the nation pay him for this defence of himself, Doddington said, "His Majesty would not for the world lend himself a farthing."

1756. April. 'Private bill for new road, and dissentions thereupon.'

The consideration of this danger, and of the measure of bringing over foreigners, always obnoxious, at least as a precedent, was often interrupted by one of those trifling affairs, with which the wisdom of this grave nation is so apt to be occupied. A new road towards the eastern counties, by which the disagreeable passage through the city would be avoided, had been proposed to be made on the back of London. The Duke of Grafton had estates there, which, by future buildings likely to accompany such an improvement, would be greatly increased. Part of this road was to pass over grounds of the Duke of Bedford, but in so small proportion as he thought would not indemnify him for the desertion of other buildings which he had to a great amount in worse parts of the town. He consequently took this up with great heat. The Duke of Grafton, old and indolent, was indifferent about it. The Duke of Argyle, who did not love * the Duke of Bedford, and others who *now* wished to thwart him and his faction, privately spurred up the Duke of Grafton to make a point of this. Fox embraced the occasion as a trial for power with Newcastle: Rigby, who had endeavoured to soften the Duke of Bedford, now to humour Fox, adopted his master's warmth, and added all his own violence, treating the name of the Duke of Grafton (who was much respected) with the greatest licentiousness in the House of Commons. The Duke of Newcastle was frightened, and wished to avoid the decision; but the Duke of Bedford, who had received all manner of

* Vide the debates on the sheriffs-depute in the preceding volume.

encouragement from the chancellor and his friends, pushed on the determination, was betrayed, was beaten, was enraged—in less than a year he proposed to the Duke of Grafton's friends to extend the plan of the road. 1756. April.

April 30th.—The estimate of the charge of the Hessian troops being laid before the house, Pitt made a bitter speech on the ministers, as bubbling the nation, or being bubbled in this extravagant bargain, which would cost 400,000*l.* more than a like number of British troops. But we were going to be undone; he should be undone with a clear conscience and untainted honour. Those who supported such measures would bear the marks on their foreheads. We could not carry on the American war, from our extravagance. God could not bless a country with resources enough to resist such profusion. He admired the *finesse* of the Hessians, who from the hungry allowance of Germany had raised their pay to British. 'Hessians.'

A few days afterwards the Hanoverian estimate being brought, and Lord Barrington commending it preferably to the Hessian (which had been voted, and was past danger), Pitt with great dexterity of irony commended it too, and lashed Lord Barrington for the extravagance of the former; asking whether he or that secretary at war had been more severe on the Hessian account, on that subsidiary juggle—for the Hanoverian, no man could find a fault with it—one was the bargain of the ministers; the other, the simple measure of his Majesty: there one saw the distinction! nothing but good flowed from the King; nothing but ruin from his servants. 'Hanoverians.'

1756. April. 'Debate on Hanoverians.'

I chuse, said he, that they should fall by a friendly hand; and that the condemnation of his patrons and friends should come from the noble lord. But must we engage mercenaries because France does! She has not blood enough in her own veins for the purposes of universal monarchy. This waste on Hessians would have conquered America, or saved Minorca, which he despaired of. Why did not the house inquire why we had been so neglected? if so weak, why staid till now? whence else Minorca likely to be lost? what poor conduct! They waited till some private man (Lord G. S.) dared to ask for foreign troops. Had we been secured here, the fleet might have gone safely to Minorca. The neglect looked wilfull, and as if they hoped that trade would call out for peace, and that Minorca to be regained would be a screen for compounding for America—but, continued he, I don't call this an administration, it is so unsteady. One is at the head of the treasury; one, chancellor; one, head of the navy; one great person, of the army—yet is that an administration? They shift and shuffle the charge from one to another: says one, I am not general; the treasury says, I am not admiral; the admiralty says, I am not minister. From such an unaccording assemblage of seperate and distinct powers with no system, a nullity results. One, two, three, four, five lords meet—if they cannot agree,—oh! we will meet again on Saturday—oh! but says one of them, I am to go out of town—alas! said he, when no parties remain, what aggravation of the crimes of the ministry, that no good comes from such unanimity!

Fox answered seriously, that nobody could be glad of or receive advantage from the loss of Minorca; and he asked, if Mr. Pitt wished to see a sole minister. 1756. April. 'Debate on Hanoverians.'

Pitt replied, that he did not wish to see a single minister, but a system and decision: that the loss of Minorca must be caused by infatuation or design, for that miners for the defence of Fort St. Philip were only raising *then*. Indeed, were Mr. Fox sole minister, there would be decision enough.

Lord George Sackville said he had moved for Hanoverians from the consideration of our unprovided state, and as a temporary militia; and *because the fleet sent into the Mediterranean was not superior to the French*, and might be beaten; the French might follow their blow and come hither. He was glad it had been mentioned, because every body was struck at Minorca being left as in time of profound peace—it would become ministers to prove that neglect, necessity.

It was known now, that after great preparations at Toulon*, of which we had long been advertised, Marshal Richelieu was sailed with considerable force to attack Minorca, where we had but four regiments in Fort St. Philip, under General Blakeney, the deputy-governor, a stout soldier, but too old. Lord Tyrawley, the governor, was in England; so were his chief officers; members of parliament. Admiral Byng was sent, but too late, and with only ten ships, and those in ill condition, and worse manned. The only hope was in Fort St. Philip.—for in an island of that importance all was left to French attack Minorca.

* The threatened invasion had been a blind to disguise the design on Minorca.

1756. April. 'Minorca.'

a hope. The late Duke of Argyle had begun a fort on the other side of the harbour, which would have been impregnable; but Lord Cadogan, out of hatred to him, destroyed it, and built this, less secure, at an enormous expence. On the 5th came notice of the French being landed on the island.

'Militia Bill.'

In the mean time passed through the commons that distant and forlorn *succedaneum*, the militia bill. A few persons had sat till near six in the morning fabricating and fashioning it: Mr. Pitt recommended it in another fine dissertation, and it was voted without a division.

May.

May 11th.—Mr. Fox delivered a message from the crown, desiring to be enabled against any emergency, and to make good the new treaty with Prussia. The next day Sir George Lyttelton moved a vote of credit for a million. It was much censured: Northey said he did not oppose it, nor meaned to disturb an unanimity which had been constant for two years in granting supplies. Now was not the time, but a day would come for inquiring how they had been misapplied. This vote of credit, he supposed, like that of last year, would be perverted to German treaties. We were told last year that the King had entered into engagements, and that we must not make him break his word. Beckford said, six millions three hundred thousand pounds were already given—what had been done for such a sum? who could trust ministers any farther? We were all united; we wanted nothing but an able head. The person at the head of the treasury is always so of the administration—if he is not an able man, how can we go on?

'Vote of credit.'

1756. May. 'Vote of credit.'

The city said, Minorca was betrayed—I tell them, said he, they don't know the disability of the administration. When we seized the ships of France, did we imagine they would not revenge themselves? Are we more secure in America for this neglect of the Mediterranean? No. In the month of May you have prepared but two regiments, and they are not gone. The French have sent two thousand five hundred men to the West Indies—twelve sail would have saved Minorca.

To all these objections Sir George Lyttelton replied, that this money would be restricted and subject to account. Was government not to be supported on the first misfortune that happened? When one happens, would you not prevent another? if while we guarded Minorca, our own coasts had been neglected, the ministry would indeed be blameable. Nothing had raised the supplies but the security of our coasts. When the foreign troops should arrive, our fleets would be more at liberty. Our spirit and activity had been admired by all Europe; and it was more difficult to defend our spirit than our neglect. This answer was not particular enough to satisfy Nugent; he added his usual panegyric on the honesty of the Duke of Newcastle.

Pitt made a fine lamentation on the calamitous situation of affairs, and on the incapacity of the ministers; begging them, if they knew, to disclose the purposes for which this vote of credit was intended. Was it to raise more men? we had 40,000 national, and 14,000 foreign troops. Was it to make marine treaties? he would joyfully assent. If Sir George

1756. May. 'Vote of credit.'

could not say for what it was designed, would he at least peremptorily say for what it was *not* designed? Still he was of so compounding a temper, he would assent, though votes of credit had been so much abused. The ministers bragged of unanimity, of activity, of spirit—what had all this harmony of councils and talents operated? safety? are we safe? damage to the enemy? let them show when and where. With this universal aye, all our outlying parts were exposed. But he, alas! had no particular joy on being so strong on this question: he did not want to load unhappy men who had undone their country; men most unhappy, if they did not feel it. We were told that there was no option but between this country and America and the Mediterranean—so this great country could neither provide for defence nor offence! *yet our activity was admired!* Philosophers indeed had a term, *vis inertiæ*, the inactivity of action—was it by that we were to be saved? His charge, he said, was, *that we had provoked before we could defend, and neglected after provocation; that we were left inferior to France in every quarter; that the vote of credit had been misapplied to secure the Electorate; and that we had bought a treaty with Prussia by sacrificing our rights.* He would not have signed it for the five great places of those who had signed it. They had left us unprovided, as a gap for German troops; and so German troops at last became an English measure! The deceased gentleman (Mr. Pelham) had meant œconomy, and was dragged into foreign measures by one who had now got the treasury. Could he every day arraign, and yet con-

tinue to trust? and while new foreign measures were in embrio? —yet if this treaty was restrained to the defence of the king's dominions, he should not know how to oppose it. He had no resentment; nobody had injured him: of their measures and incapacity indeed he thought ill. If he saw a child (Duke of Newcastle) driving a go-cart on a precipice, with that precious freight of an old king and his family, sure he was bound to take the reins out of such hands. He prayed to God that his Majesty might not have Minorca, like Calais, written on his heart! He concluded with proposing to take the very words of the last vote of credit.

1756. May. 'Vote of credit.'

Sir George Lyttelton answered with great modesty, that the administration had not sufferred by Mr. Pelham's death, except by *his* advancement. Let it be considered who was at the head of the treasury, of the admiralty, of the chancery, &c. Could it be said that we had done nothing, when we had taken 8000 French seamen? here he would rest the whole; no one calamity had happened yet.

George Grenville observed, that in December last the fleet consisted of 150 sail, of which 78 were of the line; of 42,700 seamen, of which 36,000 had been mustered: the marines had been voted since—was this inability to send fourteens ships to the Mediterranean? In January there were sixty-two ships at home capable of being employed. Fourteen ships had sufficed to keep the Brest and Rochfort squadrons in their harbours. He commended Lord Anson, and said, he had heard of representations being made from the admiralty for sending

1756. May. 'Vote of credit.'

force to the Mediterranean. In the last war he remembered that the admiralty was restrained from meddling with the Mediterranean service, which was reserved to the secretary of state (Duke of Newcastle); if that restriction continued, the admiralty was not to blame. In America, Braddock had been defeated in July; not a man was sent thither till within the last fortnight. Fox replied, that he knew of no representation from the admiralty. The fleet could not have been prepared so soon as Mr. Grenville alledged: it is no neglect if things are preparing. Dates, he knew, might save from punishment, but events only would save from blame. Some merit he thought there was in the Prussian treaty, of which the contrary, a breach, had been so much foretold. The question before the house was not so diffuse as that of last year, because the augmentation was made, and consequently not necessary now. He wished the incapacity was in the administration, not in the country itself.

Pitt took little notice of Fox, only rising again to lash Sir George Lyttelton, who had called it an opposal of epithets, very little proper to come from him, said he, whose character is a composition of epithets. But what! did we meet as an academy of compliments? but Lyttelton had mistaken the day, for himself, he said, had used no epithets that day. If Lyttelton would say, we had no more resources, he would tell him he was incapable, and when he disclaimed having had any hand in drawing the words of the question, he saw Sir George was not at liberty to change them.

Lyttelton, much hurt, but firm, cried, he says I am a thing made up of epithets—was not this the language of Billingsgate? The world complained that the house was converted into a bear-garden—he should not envy Mr. Pitt the glory of being the Figg or Broughton of it—yet if he assumed fewer airs of superiority, it would do him more honour. 1756. May. 'Vote of credit.'

Pitt, redoubling contempt, said with a sneer, we once lived in a road of epithets together—hard! that my friend, with whom I have taken sweet council of epithets, should now reproach me with using them! Lyttelton, he said, was a pretty poetical genius; with his pen in his hand, nobody respected him more:—but what! were not Billingsgate and Broughton epithets? He at once described Lyttelton as an *innocent*, and would have fixed the use of invectives on him. Sir George terminated the altercation and debate, by protesting it was not his fault if he did not still live in friendship with Mr. Pitt.

May 14th.—The Prussian treaty was opened to the house by Sir George Lyttelton. It stipulated that the King of Prussia should pay 61,000*l.* due on the Silesian loan; but admitted that 20,000*l.* was due to him, which the parliament was desired to grant. Pitt took the convention to pieces, interpreting it as a design in the King of Prussia of returning indignity for indignity; and as derogatory to the sovereignty of England, which was now giving 20,000*l.* to a monarch, represented as intimidated, for unjust claims, examined and pronounced so, and now allowed by a commission of review, as Debates on the Prussian treaty.

1756. May. 'Debate on Prussian treaty.'

unheard of as that exercised at Berlin; and founded on admission of damages, by what kind of liquidation could not be guessed. Had that king made a demand, or had this compensation been offerred to him? But he saw, he said, that all the powers of Europe were setting up a new jurisprudence, and that we were no longer to enjoy the empire of the ocean. For himself, he should affect no superiority but what was common to him with twelve millions, innocence of his country's ruin, the superiority of the undone over the undoers. If he could but be told that even by a protest we had secured the rights of our courts of admiralty, he would acquiesce; and should be glad, as it would bring the long sufferers on the Silesian loan into their money. Yet he had rather vote them the 60,000*l.*; we did not want such a sum; the necessary thing to us was the acknowledgment of the right. So thought the King of Prussia, and said, I will take nothing, to show I set my foot on your neck, and *how* I am intimidated.—He hoped the committee would at least couple with the vote the assertion of our rights.

Murray answered in a long discussion, pleading like a lawyer *for* the King of Prussia, though formerly, when consulted as a lawyer, he had nobly confuted him, like a statesman. He said, free ships make free goods, and that a prince whose property is taken must judge by his own courts. That we did not allow that decision—if his friendship were bought by allowing it, the purchase would be too dear. That the single question was, whether the convention did or did not

give up our rights. That the King of Prussia had not been alienated by our fault, but by his own interest, and that breach had been kept up by his fear. That, under the name of reprisals, he had paid himself, having the Silesian loan in his power. That he had tried to list the powers of the Baltic, by the captivating maxim of *free ships make free goods*. That he did not demand one sixpence for goods of strangers taken on board Prussian ships, and therefore could not demand satisfaction, as no injury was done to him. He had made no reply to our memorial, nor ever negotiated with us in defence of his principles; but retained the Silesian loan. There had been thoughts of making war on him—but how? if by the Queen of Hungary, then France would have taken part, and a general war had ensued. As we detained his ships, he might demand to appeal—very difficult to grant that, or to refuse it. He then enlarged on the King of Prussia's right and power of appeal—urged the long time lapsed, the money dispersed, the danger of a single-handed war with France; the advantage of reconciliation with Prussia, who by giving up the whole Silesian debt, gave up at once his whole commission of revision. He had only said, "Save my credit, give me something." Who would have held off for 20,000*l.*? We did make that sort of *amende* to him; we did save his credit. Just so, the French seized the smugler Mandrin in the territory of Savoy, and hanged him—but when we sent a fleet to America, and France wanted allies, she asked pardon of the King of Sardinia. The same was our case with Spain on the convention of 1739:

1756. May. 'Debate on Prussian treaty.'

1756. May. 'Debate on Prussian treaty.'

they agreed to pay us for captures they had made, and to liquidate with the South Sea Company. Nobody thought that by that accommodation they gave up their principles of searching. In the whole treaty we had not allowed the King of Prussia's principles; nor did it appear whether his goods had been condemned as an enemy's, or as contraband. Very uncertain what is contraband when not expressed in any treaty. Spain calls tobacco so, because they think it makes the English fight better. If we did not allow the northern powers to carry some contraband goods, they could have no trade. We had desired from the Prussian minister a plan of a treaty: he took a Swedish treaty for his model, in which it was expressly stipulated that "free ships do *not* make free goods." To have had it expressed now would have weakened it—a subtilty which justifies my saying that he argued as council for Prussia. Pitt taxing him with it, he pretended not to have said, that it was stipulated so in the Swedish treaty, but understood so in it.

'War declared.'

The committee, by a majority of 210 to 55, voted the money; and four days afterwards war was proclaimed with France.

'Militia Bill.'

The same day (18th) the Militia Bill was read in the House of Lords for the second time. The Duke of Bedford, thinking the Duke of Newcastle would oppose or let it be dropped for want of time, supported it strongly. Newcastle did oppose it, but faintly, with Lord Granville and Lord Sandys, and sufferred it to be committed.

1756. May. 'Militia Bill in Lords.'

Lord Halifax supported it well in the committee; Lord Temple dared the ministers to throw it out. Lord Granville immediately attacked it warmly, but it went through without a division.

On the 24th, Lord Stanhope spoke well on its behalf. Lord Granville again opposed it as absurd, unjust, and oppressive. He would not amend it, he said, for he disliked it; he would not be for it, because it was unamended. He would not be influenced by its having passed the Commons, or by its being popular—yet it was not popular, for often it had not been attended in the Commons by above fifteen persons; consequently had been voted in not a legal house. Lord Granville always strongly asserted the dignity of his own house of Parliament against the other.

The Duke of Bedford argued for the bill, and affirmed that the people had only submitted to foreign forces, on the promise of a Militia Bill. The chancellor declared against it on the impracticability,—and (those who love liberty will love him for it), on its omitting the declaration of the power of the militia being in the crown, which had been asserted by Lord Clarendon and Lord Southampton on the Restoration. Himself, he said, had never been reckoned a prerogative lawyer, yet he would never *let* the prerogative be lessened with his consent.

If I have here marked out Lord Hardwicke's memory to the indignation of free men, he might pardon me:—there are always numbers ready to admire the advocates of prerogative—Laud had his adorers; Jefferies hardly escaped them.

1756. May. Lord Bath spoke for the bill; the Duke of Newcastle against it; and it was rejected by 59 to 23.

'Parliament prorogued.' On the 27th the parliament was prorogued. Old Horace Walpole was at last declared a peer, with Mr. Villiers and Sir Dudley Rider; but the latter being taken ill on the very day he was to have kissed hands, and dying the next, the peerage was, with much hardship, withheld from his son.

'Troops raised by individuals.' I did not mention in its place, because it falls in more properly here, that on an apprehension of an invasion in the winter, the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Northumberland, Lord Downe, and others, had offerred to raise troops of light horse, which had been accepted: but Lord Gower proposing to the King, that instead of this scheme, the great lords should go into their counties, and raise recruits for the army, this plan was better liked, if not suggested, by the Duke, and carried into execution with good success. Lord Gower raised 400 men by his personal interest in Staffordshire: Lord Ilchester and his nephew, Lord Digby, were as succesfull in Somersetshire, inlisting the sons of many wealthy farmers, upon promise that they should not serve out of England. However, on a resolution of sending the force at Gibraltar to Mahon, it was determined to replace them with this Somersetshire regiment. Such a violation of public faith (for the recruits at least could not conceive that the brother and nephew of a secretary of state had not authority for their assurances), created the greatest clamour; and the men were driven by force on board the transports. The consequence was very

pernicious as might have been foreseen, and will be showed. I will mention another instance of the injustice and cruelty of such breach of covenant. In the late rebellion, some recruits had been raised under a positive engagement of dismission at the end of three years. When the term was expired, they thought themselves at liberty, and some of them quitted the corps in which they had been regimented. The Duke ordered them to be tried as deserters; and not having received a legal discharge, they were condemned. Nothing could mollify him; two were executed. 1756. May.

June 4th.—The Prince of Wales attained the age prescribed for his majority; by which the Regency Bill remains only a dangerous precedent of power to posterity—no longer so to us, for whose subjection it was artfully, though, by the grace of God, vainly calculated! This epoch, however, brought to light the secrets of a court, where hitherto every thing had been transacted with mysterious decency. The princess had conducted herself with great respect to the King, with appearance of impartiality to ministers and factions. If she was not cordial to the Duke, or was averse to his friends, it had been imputed less to any hatred adopted from her husband's prejudices, than to jealousy of the government of her son: if the world should chuse to ascribe her attention for him to maternal affection, they were at liberty; she courted and watched him neither more nor less for their conjectures. It now at last appeared that paternal tenderness or ambition were not the sole passions that engrossed their thoughts. It June. The Prince of Wales of age.

1756. June. had already been whispered that the assiduity of Lord Bute at Leicester-house, and his still more frequent attendance in the gardens at Kew and Carleton-house, were less addressed to the Prince of Wales than to his mother. The eagerness of the pages of the back-stairs to let her know when ever Lord Bute arrived [and some other symptoms] contributed to dispell the ideas that had been conceived of the rigour of her widowhood. On the other hand, the favoured personage, naturally ostentatious of his person, and of haughty carriage, seemed by no means desirous of concealing his conquest. His bows grew more theatric, his graces contracted some meaning, and the beauty of his leg was constantly displayed in the eyes of the poor captivated princess. Indeed, the nice observers of the court-thermometer, who often foresee a change of weather before it actually happens, had long thought that her royal highness was likely to choose younger ministers than that formal piece of empty mystery, Cresset; or the matron-like decorum of Sir George Lee. * * * * *

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* * * * * * * Her simple husband, when he took up the character of the regent's gallantry, had forced an air of intrigue even upon his wife. When he affected to retire into gloomy *allees* with Lady Middlesex, he used to bid the princess walk with Lord Bute. As soon as the prince was dead, they walked more and more, in honour of his memory.

The favour of Lord Bute was scarce sooner known, than

1756. June.

History of Lord Bute's favour.

the connections of Pitt and Legge with him. The mystery of Pitt's breach with Fox was at once unravelled—and a court secret of that nature was not likely long to escape the penetration of Legge, who wormed himself into every intrigue where his industry and subservience could recommend him—yet Legge had not more application to power, than Newcastle jealousy of it. Such an entrenchment round the successor alarmed him. It was determined in his little council that the moment the Prince of Wales should be of age, he should be taken from his mother; but the secret evaporating, intimations by various channels were conveyed to the Duke of Newcastle and to the chancellor, how much the Prince would resent any such advice being given to the King, and that it would not be easy to carry it into execution. The Prince lived shut up with his mother and Lord Bute; and must have thrown them under some difficulties: their connection was not easily reconcileable to the devotion which they had infused into the Prince; the princess could not wish him always present, and yet dreaded his being out of her sight. His brother Edward, who received a thousand mortifications, was seldom sufferred to be with him; and Lady Augusta, now a woman, was, to facilitate some privacy for the princess, dismissed from supping with her mother, and sent back to cheese-cakes, with her little sister Elizabeth, on pretence that meat at night would fatten her too much.

Scheme of taking the Prince from his mother.

The ministers, too apt to yield when in the right, were now obstinate in the wrong place; and without knowing how

1756. to draw the King out of the difficulty into which they were pushing him, advised this extraordinary step. On May 31st, Lord Waldegrave, as the last act of his office of governor, was sent with letters of the same tenour to the prince and to his mother, to acquaint them, that the Prince being now of age, the King, who had ever shown the greatest kindness and affection for him, had determined to give him 40,000*l.* a year, would settle an establishment for him, of the particulars of which he should be informed, and that his Majesty had ordered the apartments of the late Prince at Kensington, and of the Queen at St. James's, to be fitted up for him: that the King would take Prince Edward too, and give him an allowance of 5000*l.* a year.

Scheme of taking the Prince from his mother.

After a little consult in their small cabinet, both Prince and Princess sent answers in writing, drawn up, as was believed, by Legge, and so artfully worded, that the supposition was probable. The Prince described himself as penetrated by the goodness of his Majesty, and receiving with the greatest gratitude what his Majesty in his parental affection was pleased to settle on him; but he entreated his Majesty not to divide him from his mother, which would be a most sensible affliction to both. The answer of the Princess marked, that she had observed with the greatest satisfaction the impression which his Majesty's *consideration* of the Prince had made on him: and she expressed much sensibility of all the King's kindness to her. On the article of the separation she said not a word.

1756. June.

What now was the King to do? The Prince had accepted the allowance as *given;* and had refused to leave his mother, which had not been made a *condition* of the gift. Was the gift to be revoked, because the Prince had natural affection? Was the whole message to be carried into execution, and a young man, of age by act of parliament, to be taken by force, and detained a prisoner in the palace? What law would justify such violence? Who would be the agents of such violence? His Majesty himself and the late Prince of Wales, had furnished the Prince with precedents of mutinying against the crown with impunity. How little the ministers, who had planned the first step, knew what to advise for the second, was plain, from their giving no farther advice for above a month, and from the advice which they did give then, and from the perplexity in which they remained for two months more, and from the ignominious result of the whole transaction, both to the King and to themselves at last—but we must first proceed to other occurrencies.

'Scheme of taking the Prince from his mother.'

During these agitations of the court, which were little known, and less talked of, the attention of the public was directed to Minorca. Sixteen thousand French had landed there without opposition: no part of the island indeed was capable of defence, but Fort St. Philip. The inhabitants received the invaders even with alacrity, though their privileges had been preserved under the English government, and though they enjoyed all the folly of their religion without the tyranny of it. The Jews and Greeks established there

'Minorca.

1756. June. behaved with more gratitude: of the natives, sixteen only adhered to the English. The magistrates hurried to take new oaths, and to welcome the singular personage sent to be a conqueror. This was the Duc de Richelieu; a man, who had early surprized the fashionable world by his adventures, had imposed on it by his affectations, had dictated to it by his wit, and insolent agreeableness, had often tried to govern it by his intrigues, and who would be the hero of the age, if histories were novels, or women wrote history. His first campaign was hiding himself at fourteen under the Duchess of Burgundy's bed, from whence he was led to the Bastile, and whither he had returned four several times. A genius so enterprizing could not fail to captivate the ladies: the Duchess of Modena, the regent's daughter, would fain have preferred him to the *triste* glory of reigning over an acre of territory with a dismal Italian husband. Richelieu was soon after sent to, and as soon recalled from, Vienna, for carrying a black lamb in his state-coach at midnight to sacrifice to the moon, in order to obtain a recruit of vigour. The very exploit gained him as many hearts, as if the boon had been granted. Yet with an advantageous person and adventurous disposition, he was supposed to want the two heroic attributes that generally compose a woman's Alexander. So much was his courage questioned, that he was driven to fight and kill the Prince of Lixin in the trenches at Philipsbourg. Ruling the female world, and growing exhausted with the fatigues of his government, he at last thought of reposing himself on the lesser care

Characters of Richelieu and Blakeney.

1756. June. 'Richelieu and Blakeney.'

of the French monarchy: and making himself necessary to the pleasures of the mistresses, the Duchesse de Chateauroux and Madame Pompadour, he attained considerable weight in a government where trifling qualities are no disrecommendation. Embarking with all the luxurious pomp of an Asiatic grandee, this genteel but wrinkled Adonis sailed to besiege a rock, and to attack a rough veteran, who was supposed to think that he had little business left but to do his duty and die. His name was Blakeney: he had passed through all the steps of his profession, and had only attained the sweets of it by living to be past the enjoyment of them. He was remarkably generous and disinterested, and of great bravery, which had been but little remarked. Having the government of the castle of Stirling in the last rebellion, he was summoned to give it up as soon as the King's troops were defeated at Falkirk: but he replied, the loss of that battle made no alteration in his orders—yet he had then provision but for three weeks. This gallantry, which had been overlooked for his sake, was now recollected and extolled for our own: the most sanguine hopes were conceived—Minorca was regarded as the nation's possession, Scotland as the King's: if the former was lost, it passed to an enemy—Stirling would only have gone to another *friend*. As every day brought out the weakness of the garrison of Mahon, all hope was contracted to the person of Blakeney: yet in no neglect were the ministry more culpable, for he proved to be superannuated.

The French covered the siege with a fleet of twelve men-

1756. June. 'Siege of Minorca.'

of-war. Accounts were impatiently expected here of the arrival of Admiral Byng in those seas with his squadron, and with succours which he was ordered to take in at Gibraltar, and which it was hoped he would be able to fling into St. Philip's. If he could effect that service, and disperse or demolish the French fleet, there was no doubt but the troops on the island must remain prisoners of war, or be the victims of their attempt; for as yet they had made little progress. Having landed on the opposite side of the island, they found the roads almost impracticably rocky; and if cut off from supplies from the continent, they must have perished by hunger, Minorca by no means supplying the natives with superabundance. The heats too were now coming on, which would be insupportable to new constitutions, to the natural impatience of the French, and still more to an effeminate general. Hitherto their transports had passed and repassed in full security. The Mediterranean, where we so long had reigned, seemed abandoned by the English. The truth was, the clamours of the merchants, sometimes reasonable, always self-interested, terrified the Duke of Newcastle; and while, to prevent their outcries in the city of London, he minced the navy of England into cruizers and convoys, every other service was neglected. I say it with truth (I say it with concern, considering who was his associate), this was the year of the worst administration that I have seen in England; for now Newcastle's incapacity was left to its full play. While conjoined with Sir Robert Walpole, the attention of the latter to

1756. June. 'Incapacity of administration.'

the security of the House of Brunswick, and to the preservation of public tranquillity, prevented the mischiefs that the duke's insufficience might have occasioned. If Lord Granville, his next coadjutor, was rash and dangerous, yet he ventured with spirit, and had great ideas and purposes in view. He provided not the means of execution, but an heroic plan was not wanting; and if he improperly provoked some allies, he stuck at nothing to engross the whole co-operation of others. Mr. Pelham was too timorous not to provide against complaint: his life was employed in gathering up the slips of his brother. But now Fox was called in to support a government, from a share in which it was determined he should be excluded, and every part of which, where he had influence, it was a measure with Newcastle to weaken, the consequences could not but be fatal—and fatal they were! Indeed, Fox himself was not totally excusable. He came in, despairing of the prosperity of his country; and neither conversant in, nor attentive to the province allotted to him, he thought too much of wresting the remains of power from his competitors. He had neither the patriotism which forms a virtuous character, nor the love of fame which composes a shining one, and often supplies the place of the other. His natural bent was the love of power, with a soul generous and profuse; but growing a fond father, he became a provident father—and from a provident father to a rapacious man, the transition was but too easy!

In the midst of the anxious suspence I have mentioned,

1756. June. on June 3d came news that Admiral Byng, after a very tedious passage, arriving at Gibraltar on the 2d of May, had, according to his orders, demanded of General Fowke, the governor, a battalion to be transported to Minorca, but that the governor, instead of obeying these directions, had called a council of war, where, in pursuance of the opinion of engineers whom they consulted, it was determined to be impracticable to fling succours into St. Philip's, and that it would be weakening the garrison of Gibraltar to part with so much force, which accordingly was refused.

'Reinforcements from Gibraltar refused.'

'French reports from Minorca.'

But the same post brought an account that occasioned still more astonishment and dismay. Mazzoni, the Spanish minister at Paris, transmitted to D'Abreu, the Spanish resident in England, the copy of a letter which Monsieur Machault had received from Galissoniere, the French admiral, and which had been assiduously communicated to foreign ministers, relating "That on May 18th, the French admiral, as he lay off Mahon, had perceived the English squadron, who had approached nearer on the 19th, but seemed unwilling to engage. That on the 20th the English had the advantage of the wind, but still seemed unwilling to fight: that the engagement however had been *entamè*, but could not be universal, for the English kept *trop serrès:* that two or three English ships had sheered off; that night separated the fleets; that he (Galissoniere), had lost thirty-eight men, and had nine officers wounded; that he had taken no English ship, but had prevented their flinging succours into Mahon. That he had

expected to be attacked again the next day, but, to his great surprize, found the English had disappeared." 1756. June.

'Public indignation.'

It is necessary to be well acquainted with the disposition of a free, proud, fickle, and violent people, before one can conceive the indignation occasioned by this intelligence. Nothing can paint it so strongly as what was its instant consequence. Sir Edward Hawke and Admiral Saunders were immediately dispatched in the Antelope to supersede Byng and West, to arrest and bring them prisoners to England. This was the first movement; the second should have been to reflect, that there was not the least ground for this information but what was communicated through the channel of Spanish agents (not very friendly to Britain), from the vapouring letter of the enemy's own admiral, interested to heighten or palliate his own conduct:—this should have been the second thought, but it was long ere it was sufferred to place itself. In the Antelope, a little cargo of courage, as it was called, were sent at the same time Lord Tyrawley and Lord Panmure, to supersede General Fowke, and take the government of Gibraltar. Is it credible, that Lord Tyrawley, dispatched with such vaunted expedition, was the actual governor of Minorca, where he ought to have been from the beginning of the war?

The impression against Mr. Byng was no sooner taken, than every art and incident that could inflame it were industriously used and adopted. Though he had demanded the Mediterranean service as his right, and had pressed for it

1756. June. as the scene of his father's * glory, his courage was now called in question, and omens were recollected to have foretold this miscarriage. A letter from him before the engagement had mentioned nothing of Minorca; it only said, that if he found the French too strong, he would retire under the cannon of Gibraltar. The King was now reported to have dashed this letter on the ground in a passion, saying, "This man will not fight!"—his Majesty, it seems, had great skill in the symptoms of cowardice! He was represented too as neither eating nor sleeping, and as lamenting himself that this account would be his death. As Minorca was but too likely to follow the fate of Calais, his ministers prepared to write Mahon on that heart, which had never yet felt for any English possession. The Duke, whose sensibility on this occasion can less be doubted, took care to be quoted too: he said, "We are undone! Sea and land are cowards! I am ashamed of my profession!"

'Admiral Byng's dispatch.' But on the arrival of the admiral's own dispatch, *an abstract* of which was immediately published, the rage of the people rose to the height. The letter spoke the satisfaction of an officer, who thought he had done his duty and done it well—an air of triumph, that seemed little to become a man who had left the French masters of the sea, and the garrison of St. Philip's without hope of relief. Their despair on the disappearance of the British fleet must have been extreme, and could not fail to excite the warmest compassion here. The admiral was burned in effigie in all the great towns; his seat

* Lord Torrington.

and park in Hertfordshire were assaulted by the mob, and with difficulty saved. The streets and shops swarmed with injurious ballads, libels, and prints, in some of which was mingled a little justice on the ministers. Charles Townshend undertook a weekly paper, called the Test, of which only one number was published: he had too much mercury and too little ill-nature to continue a periodical war. We shall see in the following winter that some of the persons attacked were rather more settled in their passions, when they revived the title of this paper, and turned it on its patrons. 1756. June.

As I shall soon be obliged to open a blacker scene than what has hitherto employed my pen, I will take leave of the preceding period with these few remarks. Considering how seldom the world is blessed with a government really good, and that the best are generally but negatively good, I am inclined to pronounce the times of which I have been writing happy. Every art and system that brings advantage to the country was *permitted:* commerce was in no shape checked: liberty, not being wanton, nay, being complaisant, was not restrained: the church was moderate, and, when the ministry required it, yielding. If the chancellor was ravenous, and arbitrary, and ambitious, he moved too deliberately and too gravely, to bring on any eminent mischief. If the Duke of Newcastle was fond of power, and capricious, and fickle, and false, they were the whims of a child: he circumscribed the exertion of his pomp to laying perhaps the first stone of a building at Cambridge, for a benefaction to which he was forced 'Remarks on the character of government.'

1756. June. to borrow an hundred pounds. His jealousy was not of the privileges of parliament, but lest some second among his favorites should pay more court to his first favorite than to him; and if he shifted his confidence, and raised but to depress, and was communicative but to betray, he moved in a narrow circle, and the only victims of his whims were men who had shifted and betrayed as often, and who deserved no better fortune. If the Duke was haughty and rigorous, he was satisfied with acting within the sphere of the army, and was content to govern it, not to govern by it. If the King was too partial to Hanover, and was unnecessarily profuse of subsidies to Germany, perhaps it was the only onerous grievance; and the King, who did no more harm, and the ministers, who, by vailing to this passion, purchased the power of doing no more harm, certainly constituted no very bad government:—the occasions of war called forth another complexion—but we must proceed with a little regularity.

The Empress-queen joins with France.

The reconciliation of the King and his nephew of Prussia had given great umbrage to the Empress-queen. England had heaped as great obligations on the House of Austria as can be conferred by one nation on another; great enough almost to touch the obdurate heart of policy, and infuse real amity and gratitude. But the princess in question had imbibed passions still more human. Offended pride and plundered dignity had left no soft sensation in her heart. She was a woman, a queen, a bigot, an Austrian. A heretic her friend embracing a heretic her enemy, left no shades in the colour of their heresy. France

bid high for her friendship, and purchased it, by bidding up to her revenge. They made a treaty of neutrality, called only defensive during this war; as if princes could not leap from peace to war but through a necessary medium. This news was received with indignation: England considered this desertion as almost rebellion in a people whom she had long kept in her pay with regret. Memorable were the wise and moderate words of Lord Granville to Coloredo, the Austrian minister, who, in a visit, endeavoured to palliate this league. The earl said, "We understand it as only a treaty of neutrality, and can but be glad of it—the people in general look on it otherwise; and I fear, a time will come, when it may be right for us, and may be our inclination to assist your mistress again; but the prepossession against her will be too strong—nobody then will dare to be a Lord Granville." 1756. June.

The lawsuit with Princess Emily for free passage into Richmond Park, which I have formerly mentioned, continued. By advice of the attorney-general she now allowed ladders over the wall, without standing a trial *. I will here finish all I have to say on this head. This concession did not satisfy; the people sued for gates for foot-passengers; and in the year 1758 obtained them; on which the Princess in a passion entirely abandoned the park. Her mother, Queen Caroline, had Conclusion of the lawsuit about New Park.

* In one of the hearings on this cause, Lord Mansfield, the chief justice, produced in court a libel published against Princess Emily, and insisted that the jury should take an oath that they had no hand in it—and yet, when they had taken the oath, he put off the cause!

1756. July. formerly wished to shut up St. James's Park, and asked Sir Robert Walpole what it would cost her to do it:—he replied, "Only a *crown*, madam."

Continuation of the proceedings with the Prince of Wales.

July 7th.—The attack on Leicester-house was renewed. A cabinet-council was held to consider a message which Newcastle and the chancellor proposed should be sent in his Majesty's name to the Prince, to know if he adhered to living with his mother, and to the demand of having Lord Bute for his groom of the stole. Mr. Fox asked if the Prince had ever made such a demand? "Oh! yes," said Newcastle. "By whom?" asked Fox. Newcastle, "Oh! by Munchausen and others." The fact was, the Prince had most privately by Munchausen requested it as a particular favour; and it was extraordinary that Newcastle had not seized with alacrity an opportunity of ingratiating himself with the successor, without the knowledge of his master. The truth was, he was over-ruled by the chancellor, who having been slighted and frowned on by the Princess in the winter, was determined to be revenged; and the gentle method he took was to embroil the royal family, and blast the reputation of the mother of the heir-apparent. Accordingly this second message *was* sent by Lord Waldegrave. The Prince answered in writing, "That since the King did him the honour to ask him the question, he did hope to have leave to continue with his mother, as her happiness so much depended on it—for the other point, he had *never directly* asked it—yet, since encouraged, he would explain himself; and from the long knowledge and good opinion he had of

Lord Bute, he did desire to have him about his person." As if this letter confirmed, instead of contradicting their assertions, the two ministers produced it at the same council. Lord Granville opened the deliberation, and began to favour Lord Bute; but finding how unwelcome such advice was, he turned short, and said, it was best to proceed no further; as there must be a quarrel in the royal family, it was best the King should do nothing. The Duke of Devonshire said, with great decency, he hoped that was not the case; he hoped they were met to prevent such a rupture. "Oh! yes," replied Lord Granville, "it must happen; the Prince has declared he will use ill all that shall be placed about him; and though young lords will ambition the situation, they will not endure to be treated like footmen: the King will treat Lord Bute like a footman; and then he will make the Prince use the others in the same manner. This family always has and will quarrel from generation to generation." Mr. Fox then observed, that as it would fall to his province in the House of Commons to defend the King's refusal, if his royal highness should petition there for a larger allowance, he must know on what ground to defend it, for the opposition would produce his Majesty's former message, as evidence that the King had thought it right the Prince of Wales should have 40,000*l.* a year. "You must *explain*," said the chancellor, "that in the first message something was meaned which was known to both parties"—and then went into a formal pleading against the Prince, at the conclusion of which, Newcastle prevailed to have the

1756. July. 'Proceedings with the Prince of Wales.'

1756. July. determination put off for the present; though, on being pressed by Fox, he agreed that it should be considered again. After sacrificing the Princess in this cruel manner, they persuaded the King that Fox was making his court to her.

Death of the Chief Justice Rider and designation of Murray.

At this conjuncture, the great office of chief justice being vacant by the death of Sir Dudley Rider, Murray demanded it, without a competitor, because above competition; and agreably to his constant asseverations, that he meaned to rise by his profession, not by the House of Commons; though the jealousy of his aspiring in the latter had signally contributed to throw Pitt into his then opposition. As Murray was equally the buckler of Newcastle against his ally, Fox, and his antagonist, Pitt, one may conceive how a nature so apt to despond from conscious insufficience was alarmed at this event. No words can paint the distress it occasioned more strongly than what Charles Townshend said to Murray himself on the report of his intended promotion. "I wish you joy," said he, "or rather myself, for you will ruin the Duke of Newcastle by quitting the House of Commons, and the chancellor by going into the House of Lords." The apostrophe was frank, considering Newcastle was his uncle*; but tenderness for his family seldom checked the burst of Townshend's vivacity. It was at the same period he said, when the struggle about Lord Bute was depending, "Silly fellow for silly fellow, I think it is

* Elizabeth, half-sister of the Duke of Newcastle, was first wife of Charles Lord Viscount Townshend, knight of the garter, grandfather of Mr. Charles Townshend.

as well to be governed by my uncle with a blue ribband, as by my cousin * with a green one." 1756. July.

What contributed to make the want of Murray more embarrassing was the confusion that followed the loss of Minorca, of which the account came on July 14th. The French, who had kept us alarmed with the fears of an invasion, while they made immense preparations at Toulon, had sailed on the 7th of April, and landed with 16,000 men at Ciudadella on the 18th. Byng had sailed but on the same day. The garrison of Mahon, which had retired into St. Philip's, consisted of 2800 men. Galissoniere had blocked up the port from whence Captain Edgcumbe with his little squadron of three men of war and five frigates had escaped, and were gone to meet Mr. Byng. As the roads had been broken up, and the works of the assailants were to be practiced on firm rock, the trenches were not opened till the 8th of May; and from that time to the 20th they had made no impression. The engagement in sight of the fort, and the disappearance and despair of all succour which followed, had as little effect on the resolution of the garrison. They continued to fire obstinately on the besiegers till June 6th; and Marshal Richelieu gained so little immediate advantage from the retreat of the English squadron, that he was obliged to demand additional force from France. Having received it, on the 6th he opened a grand scene of batteries, which by the 14th had effectuated several

Loss of Minorca.

* Mr. Charles Townshend had married the Countess Dowager of Dalkeith, first cousin of the Earl of Bute.

1756. July. 'Loss of Minorca.'

breaches. Yet those brave men still held out, and in proportion as no account came of their surrender, the fame of Blakeney rose. At last it was determined in the French council of war to storm the place on the 27th at night, which was performed accordingly, and three forts were taken. At the Queen's Fort (the last of the three), the fate of Minorca, and the truth of its defence were decided. Lieutenant-Colonel Jefferies, the soul of the garrison, unwilling to trust so important a commission to another, too rashly flew with one hundred men to defend the last redoubt—he found it taken—attempted to retire, and was made prisoner. This happened about midnight: by five next morning a suspension of arms was agreed on to bury the dead, and at two in the afternoon the garrison capitulated. They obtained honorable conditions. If it is asked what part the hero Blakeney took in the event, it must be answered, that, during the whole siege, he had been in bed with the gout, and executed all his glory by deputy. But not only a commander was wanting: when the general assault was made, many of the British soldiers had done unremitted duty for three days; and they had so few officers, that scarce a mine was fired, and some were attempted so late, that the French carried off the matches before they could take effect *.

If the clamours of the people rose on the confirmation of

* A Captain Cunningham, who had been ill-used in our service, and was retired to Leghorn, said, "They will want engineers"—and immediately sold all he had, bought provisions and ammunition, and flung himself into St. Philip's. This gallant man died in the island of Guadaloupe, at the taking of which he served, in 1759.

1756. July. 'Proceedings on loss of Minorca.'

this misfortune, so did the terrors of the administration. The very first effects of their fear showed, that, if they had neglected Minorca, they were at least prepared to transfer the guilt to others. They descended even to advertize in the Gazette, that orders were sent to every port to arrest Admiral Byng, in case he should not have been met by Sir Edward Hawke. All the little attorneys on the circuit contributed to blow up the flame against the admiral, at the same time directing its light from the original criminals. New offers were made to Murray, if he would decline for eight months the post of chief justice and the peerage that was to accompany it*. The very distress that made Newcastle catch so eagerly at his assistance, was sufficient warning to make him refuse. He knew it was safer to expound laws than to be exposed to them: and he said peremptorily at last, that if he was not to be chief justice, neither would he any longer be attorney-general.

July 26th.—The prisoners arrived at Portsmouth: Mr. Byng was immediately committed to close confinement. His younger brother, who went to meet him, was so struck with

* They offerred him the dutchy of Lancaster for life, with a pension of 2000*l.* a year; permission to remain attorney-general (which produced 7000*l.* a year), and the reversion of the first teller of the exchequer for his nephew, Lord Stormont. At the beginning of October they bid up to 6000*l.* a year in pension. They pressed him to stay but a month, nay, only to defend them on the first day. Was innocence ever so extravagant, or so alarmed?—"Good God!" said Murray himself, "what merit have I, that you should load this country, for which so little is done with spirit, with the additional burthen of 6000*l.* a year?"

1756. July. 'Proceedings on loss of Minorca.'

the abuse he found wherever he passed, that he fell ill on the first sight of the admiral, and died next day in convulsions. Byng himself expressed no emotions but of surprize at the rigour of his treatment, persisting in declarations of having beaten the French. West, whose behaviour had been most gallant, was soon distinguished from his chief, and was carried to court by Lord Anson. The King said to West, "I am glad to hear you have done your duty so well: I wish every body else had!" Anson himself did not escape so honorably: his incapacity grew the general topic of ridicule; and he was joined in all the satiric prints with his father-in-law, Newcastle, and Fox. A new species of this manufacture now first appeared, invented by George Townshend: they were caricaturas on cards. The original one, which had amazing vent, was of Newcastle and Fox, looking at each other, and crying, with Peachum in the Beggar's Opera, "*Brother, brother, we are both in the wrong.*" On the Royal Exchange a paper was affixed, advertizing, "*Three kingdoms to be let; inquire of Andrew Stone, broker, in Lincoln's-Inn-fields.*"

From Portsmouth, Byng, strictly guarded, at once to secure him from the mob and inflame their resentment, was transferred to Greenwich. His behaviour continued so chearfully firm and unconcerned, that those who thought most moderately of his conduct, thought full as moderately of his understanding. Yet, if *he* could be allowed a judge, Lord Anson had, in the year 1755, given the strongest testimonial in Byng's favour, recommending him particularly for an essential

service, as one whose head and heart would always answer. As a forerunner to the doom of the admiral, so much demanded from, and so much intended by the ministry, General Fowke was brought to his trial for disobedience of orders in refusing the regiment for Minorca. He pleaded the latitude and discretion allowed to him by his orders, and the imminent danger of his important government. Though the danger of that was increased by the probability that France would either offer Minorca to purchase the alliance of Spain, or assistance to recover Gibraltar, yet Fowke found neither efficient to save him; no, nor the diversity of opinions in his judges: yet it was plain from their sentence, that they by no means thought he came under the rigour of the law, condemning him only to be suspended for a year for having mistaken his orders. When a man is tried for an absolute breach of orders, and appears only to have mistaken them, in equity one should think that punishment ought to fall on those who gave the orders. However, as the mob was to be satiated with victims, that the real guilty might escape, Fowke was broken by the King, and his regiment given to Jefferies.

1756. July. 'General Fowke tried.'

The next symptom of discontent was an address to the King from Dorsetshire, demanding an inquiry into the loss of Minorca, and justice on the culpable. This flame spread: the counties of Huntingdon, Buckingham, Bedford, Suffolk, Shropshire, Surrey, Somerset, and Lancashire, with the great towns, as Bristol, Chester, Leominster, and others, followed the example, and directed their members to promote the inquiry.

Addresses on the loss of Minorca.

1756. July. But the strongest and most dictatorial was that presented from the city of London: to which the trembling ministers persuaded the King to pledge his royal word that he would save no delinquent from justice. A promise that, being dictated by men secure of the parliament, plainly indicated on what class of criminals punishment was not designed to be inflicted. The Duke of Newcastle, indeed, could with more propriety than the rest engage the King in a promise, seemingly indefinite, he, who with a volubility of timorous folly, when a deputation of the city had made representations to him against the admiral, blurted out, "Oh! indeed he shall be tried immediately, he shall be hanged directly."

Revolution in Sweden. While England was thus taken up with the contemplation of her own losses and misconduct, a vaster war, more ample revolutions, and a novel hero, were on the point of occupying the theatre of Europe—before I lay open this scene, a word must be said on the situation of Sweden. France had long dictated in that indigent senate. That influence, however, was too precarious and liable to too many changes, to satisfy the view of commanding a steady ally. Though senators are far from being incorruptible, the liberty of their country and its glory will often operate, and make them feel the weight of the richest chains. A court, at once arbitrary and necessitous, France thought could never be tempted to slip out of their hands. Accordingly, they laid a plan for making the king absolute; and the conjuncture seemed well chosen: he was much devoted to his queen, sister of Prussia, a woman

artfull and ambitious—yet the king had too much gratitude and virtue to yield to the temptation—he neither desired to be arbitrary nor French.—It remained for the members of a free senate to act the ignominious part, which had been more excusable, as more natural in a king. France then threw all her weight into the faction opposite to the court. A conspiracy was pretended to be discovered of a design in the king to make himself arbitrary. Every affront that he would have deserved, had the aspersion been true, were offerred to him and the queen: their power was annihilated; their friends proscribed. The king added to the merit of refusing despotism, the virtue of not endeavouring to recover his legal authority—nor let the weakness of his means be urged: no king is so impotent as not to be able to sacrifice some of his subjects to the most chimeric pretensions. 1756. July.

Deduction of the causes of the war in Germany.

The greater scene we must trace farther back. The King of Prussia was the point of hatred in which the passions of several courts met. The Empress-queen could never digest the loss of Silesia; the Czarina had long suspected him of tampering to set the young Czar, John, on the throne, the nephew of the Queen of Prussia. The court of Saxony dreaded so powerfull a neighbour; and, while it trembled for its manufacture of porcelaine, could scarce forgive the contempt, with which the King of Prussia had left it untouched, when he formerly made himself master of Dresden. Yet perhaps the two latter princes, the one in the arms of her grenadiers, the other in his china palace, or among his bears, had

1756. July. 'Causes of war in Germany.'

sufferred their apprehensions and indignation to cool, if their ministers had had as little activity. For the Empress-queen, her ministers might serve her passions, they could not outrun them. The war that approached must be traced to its source, ere we can fix on the original aggressor. The house of Austria had long meditated the recovery of that predominant power, which so many circumstances and intrigues had concurred to unite in the person of Charles the Fifth. Ferdinand the Second had acted with most open violence; but almost all the race had usurped, whenever they saw a proper moment. Silesia had been wrested from the house of Brandenburg. At the very period that the empire vanished from the house of Austria, the crown of Prussia fell on the head of a man, who thought much of aggrandizing himself, more of distinguishing himself, not at all of the justice or injustice of the means of attaining either. On the contrary, he seemed to admire the subtlety of policy as much for its beauty as for its use. He at once imposed on the Queen of Hungary, and invaded her. The provocation was vehement: the usurpations and arts of her house were taken from her, and turned against her; and, after a bloody war, she had no resource but in swearing to new treaties, with intention of violating them on the first opportunity:—that opportunity was so eagerly sought, that she could not wait till it arrived; and many busy emissaries conspired to hasten the crisis. Of these, the chief was Count Bruhl, the favorite of the King of Poland. This man, whom no merit, or no merit that is known, had recommended to Augustus the Third, governed

absolutely, I may say, reigned in Saxony, for the prince, who hated pomp, and divided his time between his priests and his forests, chose that Bruhl should be his proxy to display that grandeur, which Germans take for empire—and he could not have made a properer choice. As elector, Bruhl* was magnificent, expensive, tawdry, vain—as minister, weak and false. He had two or three suits of cloaths for every day in the year: —strangers were even carried to see his magazine of shoes! This man, who had mortgaged the revenues of Saxony to support his profusion, and who had prepared nothing but bawbles against a prince that lived in a camp with the frugality of a common soldier,—this daring trifler aspired to form a league with two mighty empires, to overturn the throne of Prussia, and pretended to a share in the spoils. At the same time the councils of Vienna were directed by Count Kaunitz, a man lately returned from an embassy to Paris, where he had pushed all the luxurious effeminacy of dress and affectation to an excess common to imitators, and of all imitators most common to Germans. I will mention but one instance: it was fashionable to wear little powder: every morning when he dressed, he had the whole air of a room put in agitation with powder, and when announced to be properly impregnated, he just presented himself in it, and received the atoms in equal dispersion over his hair. These were the politicians that took upon them to annihilate the House of Brandenburg at the very period that it was headed by Frederic the Third. I

1756. July. 'German ministers.' 'Bruhl.' 'Kaunitz.'

* Vide Appendix.

1756. July. mention them only to show what pismires roused that lion. Yet Kaunitz had parts—Bruhl had no more than just served to govern his master's none. The tools associated to their plot were such as recommended themselves by activity, cunning, or inveteracy: yet one they had, sensible enough to negotiate a conspiracy, and cool enough to conduct it: his name Count Fleming, a haughty and sullen Saxon, who had been employed in England, and was now at Vienna.

'Views and conduct of the courts of Dresden and Vienna.'

In the year 1745, Bruhl had made a partition-treaty with the Empress-queen, by which part of the King of Prussia's dominions were to be allotted to Saxony. That treaty had produced nothing but the seizure of Dresden by Frederic. He palliated the violent possession he had taken of Silesia, to which he thought he had a right, by the moderation with which he restored Saxony, to which he had no title but provocation. Yet Augustus had scarce sworn to the articles of a peace by which he recovered his dominions, before he was tempted to a violation of them by the court of Vienna. As eager as Bruhl was to close with perfidy, yet he could not forget the invasion of Dresden: he suggested that a previous treaty between the courts of Vienna and Petersburg would expedite and secure their common wishes. To facilitate this union, the Saxon ministers in every northern court received secret instructions to spread suggestions and alarms of great machinations at Berlin against the Czarina. As Bruhl was not penurious of lies, he took the pains to dictate these slanders himself in the blackest terms. In his intercepted dispatches one sees how succesfully he administered his calumnies,

till the Czarina believed herself aimed at even by assassination —and this project of terrifying her into an attack upon the King of Prussia, Bruhl had the modesty to call *a somewhat artfull, though good intention.* 1756. July.

The Czarina was an amiable woman, of no great capacity. She had been deprived of a throne to which she had pretensions, and had passed her youth in the terror which must accompany such a claim in a despotic empire, where, if civilized manners were stealing in, humanity to a competitor was one of the last arts of which they were likely to find or adopt a pattern. Yet she had been treated with great lenity, and which perhaps was still more extraordinary, as the addition of gratitude, another virtue, made the imitation still more difficult, returned it. Her first transport on her rapid elevation was devout mercy; she made a vow never to put any person to death, and adhered to it: Siberia and the prisons, during her reign, were crouded with criminals, tortured, but never executed. She not only spared the little dethroned Czar, John, and had him educated with great care, but was as indulgent as she could be with safety to her rival the Princess Anne, his mother. With so much tenderness of heart, it was not wonderfull that her heart was entirely tender—and how slight was that abuse of unbounded power, which only tended to gratify an unbounded inclination! Let us compare the daughters of two ferocious men, and see which was sovereign of a civilized nation, which of a barbarous one. Both were Elizabeths. The daughter of Peter was absolute, yet spared a competitor Character of the Czarina.

1756. July. and a rival; and thought the person of an Empress had sufficient allurements for as many of her subjects as she chose to honour with the communication. Elizabeth, of England, could neither forgive the claim of Mary Stuart nor her charms, but ungenerously imprisoned her when imploring protection, and without the sanction of either despotism or law, sacrificed Mary to her great and little jealousy. Yet this Elizabeth piqued herself on chastity; and while she practiced every ridiculous art of coquetry to be admired at an unseemly age, kept off lovers whom she encouraged, and neither gratified her own desires nor their ambition:—who can help preferring the honest, open-hearted, barbarian Empress?

'League of Prussia, Austria, and Saxony.' Besides an attempt on her person, the Czarina was made to believe that Frederic had designs on Courland, on Polish Prussia, and Dantzick; and that France, Prussia, and Sweden had fixed the successor if a vacancy should happen in Poland. She signed the league with the Empress-queen, and resolved to attack the King of Prussia. Saxony was summoned to accede, on its own terms of having two dutchies and three circles dismembered, on the conquest of Prussia. Bruhl engaged his master to sign, but obtained so much favour as to have the secret articles concealed: and having obtained that indulgence, spared no falshoods to deny the existence of any secret articles at all: then endeavoured to draw the King of England to accede to the same secret articles; and persisted all the time in the strongest professions of friendship to the King of Prussia. But Bruhl, as the King of Prussia said, had

more art in forming plots than in concealing them; and having to do with a vigilant prince, whose own practice had taught him not to trust to professions, every lie that was dispatched from the secretary's office at Dresden was accompanied with a duplicate to Berlin. Bruhl, so indefatigable and so cautious, little thought that Frederic knew all his secrets before they reached the places of their destination. 1756. July.

Had the King of Prussia wanted intelligence, the preparations of his great enemies, and the folly of his little ones, would have alarmed him. The troops of the two Empresses were in motion, yet neither so much as professed an intention of succouring the King of England, their ally. The Empress-queen excused herself in form, when her assistance, so dearly purchased, was demanded. The Muscovite Empress was raising forces against the new ally of Britain with the very money she received to hold her troops in readiness for England: and the court of Saxony, to facilitate their junction with the Austrian forces, cut a new road to Bohemia, which Bruhl had the ostentatious imprudence to christen in an inscription, *the military road.* The King of Prussia was the only object against whom all these armaments could be levelled; and they were intended to crush him as early as the year 1755: yet the contracting powers had acted with so little providence, that not one of them had magazines, arms, provisions, or money sufficient to set their great machine in motion. The Czarina, though mistress of such a continent, had neither sailors, nor soldiers, nor treasure; and having begun to march her troops, 'King of Prussia apprized of the league against him.'

1756. July. was reduced to recall them, and to accept a million of florins from Vienna. The Empress-queen had affected great œconomy and regulation of her finances; but the sums that were squeezed from the subject, as a foundation of frugality, were wasted on buildings, and ceremonies, and pageants. The Emperor indeed was rich and banker to his wife: she indulged him in this only pleasure: surrounded by the frightfullest maids of honour that she could select, she permitted him to hoard what she never let him have temptation or opportunity to squander.

'King of Prussia endeavours to secure peace.' However, towards the middle of the summer of 1756, the bomb was ready to burst; and Frederic (as he wrote to his uncle of England), saw it was more prudent *prævenire quam præveniri*. Yet, by no means ambitious of a defensive war, and fully apprized that the first stroke he should strike would set his crown, his reputation, his life at stake, he attempted to avert the storm; at least, resolved to convince Europe that he was not the aggressor. He asked of the Empress-queen the meaning of those mighty armaments. She gave him an evasive answer. He demanded a categoric one; concluding his letter with these words, "*point de reponse en style d'oracle.*" Yet the Pythian, though she grew more haughty, was not less enigmatic. He had told her that he would take an ambiguous answer as a hostile declaration:—accordingly, towards the end of August, at a great supper, the King of Prussia whispered Mitchell, the British resident, to come to him at three in the morning, when he carried him to his camp, and told him, there

1756. July. 'Invasion of Saxony by King of Prussia.'

were an hundred thousand men setting out that instant, they knew not whither; and bad him write to his master, that he was going to defend his Majesty's dominions and his own. He ordered two armies into Upper and Lower Silesia, assembled another body at Glatz, and left another in Prussia to oppose the Russians. Yet, though Frederic knew that his most numerous and most determined enemies were in Bohemia, he would not venture to leave Saxony behind him. He marched with another army to Leipsic, and dispatched a sixth to Dresden—yet again endeavoured peace. A third time he sent to the Empress-queen, that if she would give a positive assurance of not attacking him that year or the next, he would directly withdraw his troops:—she refused that satisfaction—and Saxony fell an instantaneous sacrifice. The King of Poland, however, was so far prepared as to have encamped his little army in the only strong situation he had; to which on the approach of the Prussian army, he withdrew. Frederic, with insulting politeness, sent word to Augustus, that he had ordered relays of post-horses to be prepared for him, if he chose, as it was the season of holding the diet, to go to Poland. He promised his protection to the royal family and civil officers, "*Jusqu'à votre ministre*," said he, "*qui est trop au dessous de moi pour le nommer*." He lamented Augustus being in the hands of a man, whom he offerred to prove guilty of the grossest conspiracies.

Dresden was not an easier conquest than a contented one. They were rigid Protestants, offended by a bigotted Catholic

1756. July. 'Dresden conquered, and the archives searched by the Prussians.'

court, and ruined by an oppressive court. They were charmed to see a king at church, and with pleasure remembered Frederic at their devotions when he conquered them before. Augustus, and Bruhl, and 12,000 men were in the strong camp at Pirna; the queen and Saxon royal family remained at Dresden. Keith was ordered to search the archives there for the original pieces, of which Frederic had the copies in his hands. The queen made all the resistance in her power, and told the marshal that, as his master had promised to use no violence, all Europe would exclaim against this outrage—"And then," said she with spirit, "*You* will be the victim: depend upon it, your king is a man to sacrifice you to his own honour." Keith was startled, and sent for farther orders; and on receiving reiteration of them, possessed himself of the papers, though the queen herself sat on the most material trunk, and would not rise, till he convinced her that he could not avoid proceeding to force.

Frederic, in the mean time, was employed in straitening the camp at Pirna, and unavoidably wasted the season for pushing into Bohemia before the Austrians were well prepared to receive him. General Brown advanced to disengage the Saxons, and Keith, who was ready to check his progress, wrote to the king that he was on the point of giving battle. Frederic, leaving Augustus blocked up, posted away to his little army, and arrived just in time to command the charge. The battle was fought at Lowoschutz on September 29th. The Prussians were not above 25,000 men; Brown had double

their number, yet Frederic thought himself, or endeavoured to be thought, victorious. The inveteracy between the contending nations was remarkable, but the bravery of the Prussians most signalized, eight squadrons sustaining the efforts of thirty-two of Austrians. Brown retired a little; but with so much order, and he and Piccolomini remained so firmly entrenched, that the king would not venture to renew the attack. With the same vivacity of expedition with which he had left it, he returned to his army besieging that of Augustus. October 11th, Brown, with 15,000 select men, made forced marches to arrive on the back of the camp of Pirna. This was in private concert with the Saxons, who, flinging a bridge over the Elbe at Konigstein, passed the river on the 12th under favour of a foggy night. Darkness and the mist dispersing ere they had made four leagues, to their amazement they found the King of Prussia between them and the Austrians, and master of all the defiles. He advised them to return to their camp—they prepared to follow an advice, which it was to no purpose to reject —but, to the increase of their astonishment, found that this universal man had battered down their bridge. They laid down their arms. Augustus shut himself up in the castle of Konigstein, where Frederic sent word to the queen that she would be indulged in visiting him; and that care was taken to furnish her lord with provisions and diversions.

1756. July

'Campaign in Saxony.'

I have abridged this narrative as much as possible. From this time the King of Prussia was too much connected with our affairs to be passed over in silence; but his actions have been

1756. July. too singular and too splendid to want illustration from a private annalist. Europe was the tablet on which he has written his own memoirs with his sword, as he will probably with his pen. Besides, I live too near the times, and too far from the scene of action, to be able to penetrate into the exact detail of his campaigns and measures, and to winnow the truth from such a variety of interested, exaggerated, contested relations, as are at once produced by eminent glory, and strive to obscure it. I shall observe the same circumspection whenever I have farther occasion to mention this extraordinary man.

Affairs at home.

Affairs at home wore the same troubled aspect. As addresses and petitions were in vogue, and the approaching session likely to be warm, George Townshend took the opportunity of writing a circular letter to great boroughs and corporations, instructing them to instruct their representatives to stickle for another Militia Bill. Besides its being drawn in a wretched style, the impropriety of a private man assuming to himself such dictatorial authority, and the indecency of a man who had the last year so severely censured Mr. Fox's circular letter, were notorious. Townshend's epistle met the contempt it deserved.

Mr. Byng having notice to prepare for his trial, had demanded his witnesses; and now added a list of thirty more, but they were refused. Among those he summoned was Captain Young, who had been one of his loudest censurers. If the step was injudicious, at least it did not indicate any consciousness of guilt. Yet the people and the ministry con-

tinued to treat him as a criminal; and the former reporting that he had endeavoured to escape, the latter increased the strictness of his confinement. He complained to the secretary of the Admiralty of the rigorous treatment he received from Admiral Townshend, the governor of Greenwich: a creature of office was not likely to feel more tenderness than his superiors; Cleland returned the most insulting answers. Mr. Byng at last thought it time to make representations as well as to adhere to his innocence. He published his case. Of the engagement I shall say not a word, till I come to give an account of his trial. Of the arts used to blacken him the pamphlet gave the strongest evidence—and had very great effect in opening the eyes of mankind. It appeared, that the admiral's own letter, which had served as the great engine of his condemnation, had been mangled and altered in a manner most unworthy of honest men, of gentlemen. Some parts were omitted, by which others were rendered nonsense: other periods, which gave the reasons of his behaviour, as obedient to his orders, were perverted to speak the very language of cowardice: for instance, *making the best of my way to Gibraltar* was substituted to the genuine passage, *making my way to cover Gibraltar*. And thus the ministry sunk their own positive (and, by their neglect of Minorca, grown necessary) orders, that he might appear to have retired to save himself, not Gibraltar. Other preceding dispatches the admiral published in the same pamphlet, in which he had represented the bad condition of the fleet committed to him; and with much

1756.

Mr. Byng publishes a defence.

1756. reason concluded, those expostulations had been the first causes of his ruin; they who had been guilty of the neglect determining that the first discoverer should bear the punishment. Pity and indignation took place: Mr. Byng was every where mentioned with moderation, the ministers with abhorrence—but three months were to come before his trial: he was a prisoner, his adversaries powerfull: his pamphlet was forgotten; new slanders replaced the old. I shall defer the prosecution of Mr. Byng's story till the following year, for though his trial began the end of December, no material progress could be made in it.

Effect of Byng's pamphlet.

But though the fate of Mr. Byng remained in suspense, the crisis for the ministers drew to a quicker termination, being hurried on by several circumstances that heightened public discontent, and which could not be imputed to the unhappy admiral. Among these incidents was the loss of the important fort of Oswego, which the French seized and demolished before a design upon it was suspected. Another was of Hanoverian growth, and happening under the eye of the people, threatened very alarming consequences. There were at this time five camps in England: one at Chatham, under Lord George Sackville; another in Dorsetshire; the artillery at Byfleet in Surrey, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, master of the ordnance; the Hessians at Winchester; the Hanoverians at Coxheath, near Maidstone. The sobriety and devotion of the foreigners had been remarkable, and amid such a scene of uneasiness and faction, they had even reconciled the

Loss of Oswego.

public voice to German mercenaries. The imprudence of their superiors, up to their very chief, had like to have widened the breach for ever. A Hanoverian soldier buying four handkerchiefs at Maidstone, took by mistake the whole piece, which contained six. All parties have allowed that the fellow did it in ignorance; yet a robbery was sworn against him, and he was committed to jail. Count Kilmansog, the commanding officer, demanded him, with threats of violence; but the mayor, no whit intimidated out of his duty, refused to deliver him. Kilmanseg dispatched an express to Kensington: the chancellor, Newcastle, and Fox were all out of the way: Murray, the attorney-general, was so rashly complaisant as to draw a warrant, which Lord Holderness was ordered to copy, for the release of the man. This in few days occasioned such a flame, being mixed, as might have been expected, even in the tumultuous addresses of the time, that it was thought proper to transfer the crime, according to the politics of the year, to the subordinate agents. Kilmanseg was ordered to retire without taking leave; and the poor soldier (as a warning to Mr. Byng), received three hundred lashes. The ignorant secretary of state was menaced by the opposition: the real criminal, Murray, with no ignorance to plead, found such an outrageous violation of law no impediment to his succeeding as chief justice.

1756.

Affair of the Hanoverian soldier at Maidstone.

The disturbances flowing from these blunders, neglects, and illegalities, alarmed Newcastle. He found it was no longer a season for wantoning with the resentment of the suc-

1756. cessor and his mother: he determined to gratify them. The chancellor, who was with great difficulty drawn to make a sacrifice of his revenge, was sent to the King, to prevail on him to yield that Lord Bute might be at the head of the Prince's family. The old man could not but observe to the chancellor how contradictory this advice was to the refusal himself had suggested, pressed. "Sir," replied the judge with sanctimonious chicane, "your Majesty has said, that you would not make the Earl of Bute groom of the stole, and undoubtedly your Majesty cannot make the Earl of Bute groom of the stole; but your Majesty has never said that you would not make the Earl of Bute treasurer, or place him in some other great post." However, this sophistry was too gross; and the King thought it less dishonorable flatly to break his declared resolution, than palliate it to himself by so mean an evasion.

King admits Lord Bute into the Prince's family.

Newcastle, not to lag behind in the race of untruths, told Fox that nothing more would be said in council of the Prince's family; he believed nothing more would be done in it. In the mean time he regulated the whole establishment, though it hung awhile in suspense, as they wished to extract from the Princess a promise of giving no farther trouble.

Fox now found it was time to consult his own security: he saw Newcastle flinging up works all round himself; and suspected that Pitt would be invited to defend them. He saw how little power he had obtained by his last treaty with that duke; he saw himself involved in the bad success of measures on which he had not been consulted, scarce sufferred

to give an opinion; and he knew that if Newcastle and Pitt united, he must be sacrificed as the cement of their union. Indeed, his grace, so far from keeping terms, had not observed common decency with him: a few instances, which Fox selected to justify to the King the step he was reduced to take, shall suffice. Early in the summer, Newcastle complaining of want of support, Fox told him, that if it would facilitate his grace's measures, he would resign secretary of state to Mr. Pitt, and take an inferior place. This, at the beginning of October, the duke recollected, and told Lord Barrington, that if Fox would not take it ill, he would offer his place to Pitt the next day:—so far from *not* taking it ill, Fox made it matter of complaint that his grace had dared to think he was sincere in the offer. In the list for the Prince's family, Fox saw the names of eight or ten members of parliament, of whom he had not heard a word, till the Duke of Newcastle told him all was settled with the King; and which, though meant to soften, was an aggravation by the manner, at the same time acquainted him, that the King would let Lord Digby (Fox's nephew), be a lord of the bedchamber to the Prince, preferably to the other competitors: "But it was at my desire," said the duke; "for his Majesty was very averse to do any thing for you."—Fox replied coldly, "Lord Digby is not likely to live."—"Oh!" said Newcastle, with a brutality which the hurry of folly could not excuse, "then *that* will settle it." Fox made no reply; but the next day wrote him a letter to notify that he would go on no longer. Newcastle, thunderstruck with having

1756.

'Fox discontented with Newcastle.'

'Insists on resigning.'

1756. accomplished what he had projected, reached the letter (he received it at the board of treasury), to Nugent, and cried, "What shall I do?"—and then hurried to Lord Granville, and told him he would resign his place to him. "I thought," said Granville, "I had cured you of such offers last year: I will be hanged a little before I take your place, rather than a little after." Fox too went to vent his woes on Lord Granville, and prefacing them with a declaration of his unambitious temper, that shrewd jolly man interrupted him, and said, "Fox, I don't love to have you say things that will not be believed—if you was of my age, very well; I have put on my night-cap; there is no more daylight for me—but you *should* be ambitious: I want to instill a nobler ambition into you; to make you knock the heads of the kings of Europe together, and jumble something out of it that may be of service to this country." However, he had too much experience of Newcastle to think it possible for Fox to go on with him, or to expect that Newcastle would let him. In my own opinion, Fox hoped to terrify, and to obtain an increase of sway. He went to Lady Yarmouth, and uttered his grievances, and appealed to her whether he had not formerly told her, that, if on the death of Mr. Pelham the Duke of Newcastle had taken him sincerely, he would have acted as faithfully under him as he had under Sir Robert Walpole:—"*Ah! Monsieur Fox*," cried Lady Yarmouth, "*il y avoit bien de la difference entre ces deux hommes là!*" She intreated him, for the sake of the King, for the sake of the country, not to quit. Not prevailing, she begged that

'Precarious state of ministry.'

1756.

'Lord Granville takes Fox's resignation to the King.'

Lord Granville might carry the message instead of her. After recapitulating his subjects of complaint, the substance of the message was, that concluding Mr. Pitt was to come into the King's service, and finding his own credit decrease daily, and how impossible it was for him to act any longer with the Duke of Newcastle, he was willing to serve his Majesty to the best of his abilities in any post, not of the cabinet.

When Granville arrived with this letter at Kensington, he said, "I suppose your Majesty knows what I am bringing?" "Yes," replied the King, "and I dare say you disapproved and dissuaded it." "Yes, indeed, Sir," said he (as he repeated the dialogue himself to Fox: "And why did you say so?" asked Fox. "Oh!" said he, shuffling it off with a laugh, "you know one must, one must.") The King, whom Newcastle had just left, seemed much irritated against Fox, talked of his ingratitude and ambition, quoted the friends of Fox that he had preferred, and particularly of his having raised so young a peer as Lord Ilchester above so many ancient barons; and when he had vented his anger against Fox, he abruptly asked Lord Granville, "Would you advise me to take Pitt?" "Sir," said he, "you must take somebody." "What!" cried the King, "would you bear Pitt over you?" "While I am your Majesty's president," replied the earl, "nobody will be over me." The King then abused Lord Temple much; and at last broke forth the secret of his heart—"I am sure," said he, "*Pitt will not do my business.*" "You know," said Lord Granville to Fox, "what *my business* meant;—Hanover."—The supposition

1756. did honour to Pitt—but it seems, the King did not know him. The conversation ended with the King's saying, he would leave it to Fox's honour whether he would desert him now.

'Fox, irresolute, applies to author.'

Fox was by no means hard-hearted on this occasion. He began to say, that he would serve for the next session, but would positively resign in the spring. In the mean time he was casting about for means of union with Pitt. His resentment to Newcastle prescribed this; and his friend, the Duke of Bedford, who, from the moment he had lost his turnpike bill, saw that this country would be ruined by the Duke of Newcastle and the chancellor, loudly dictated it. Fox applied to Horace Walpole, and told him, that as soon as he should be *ready* to break with Newcastle, he would desire him to acquaint Mr. Pitt that he should be willing to unite with him. Walpole, who by no means approved the adoption of such Pelham politics, as acting with a man only till an opportunity offerred of undermining him; and who had for some time withdrawn himself from all participation of measures which he thought neither fair nor wise, replied, "That it was true, he admired Mr. Pitt, though he had not the honour of his friendship; that he earnestly wished to see them united; but before he carried any such message, he must be convinced it was for Mr. Fox's honour and service." Walpole had uniformly persisted in detaching himself from Fox, from the moment the latter had entered into engagements with Newcastle, with whom the other had determined never to have the most minute connection. Yet, I fear, passions of more mortal com-

plexion had co-operated a little to his disunion (I cannot call it breach, as he never had the least quarrel) with Fox. Rigby, who had vast obligations to him, was, however, grown weary of Walpole's ardour for factious intrigues, and wished a little to realize his politics. He had not only abandoned his friend for the Duke of Bedford, but thought it time to turn this new friendship to account; and had drawn the duke out of that opposition to the court, in which, by Walpole's arts, as has been shown, he had involved him. In short, Rigby, by no means in affluence, and with too much common sense to amuse himself any longer with politics that had no solid views, sacrificed the Duke of Bedford to Fox and fortune, when Walpole wished to have him sacrificed to his humour. This had made a breach between them; and Walpole, whose resentments were impetuous, and by no means of an accomodating mold, was little desirous of serving that league, and of breaking Fox's fall, especially by dishonorable means. It was enough to do wrong to gratify his own passions—he was not at all disposed to err, only in contradiction to them. This detail would be impertinent, if a crisis, which Fox reckoned decisive, had not turned (as will be seen), on these secret springs; and if the author did not think it his duty to avow his own failings and blemishes with the same frankness which he has used on other characters. The only difference is, that in others he would probably have treated the same faults with greater asperity, which the justice of the reader will supply.

1756.

'Author's motives in declining to interfere.'

Lady Yarmouth intreated Fox to see the King as soon as

1756. October. 'Fox has an audience.'

possible: she wished to prevent the rupture; for all the Hanoverians had contracted strange notions of the truculence of Pitt's virtue. October 18th, Fox had an audience. The monarch was sour; but endeavoured to keep his temper: yet made no concessions, no request to the *retiring* minister to stay. At last he let slip the true cause of his indignation: "*You*," said he, "have made me make that puppy Bute groom of the stole"—for so the junto had persuaded him, when they were reduced to bend to Bute themselves. Fox protested that he had never named it in council; he had only suggested it as a prudent measure to Newcastle. Still the King dropped suspicions of his having connections with the Princess. "Sir," replied Fox, "what I am so happy in, my attachment to your son *, might have assured you against that." On his side, the monarch disavowed having made any offers to Pitt. Yet so little condescension appeared, that Fox determined to quit directly; and took his leave with saying, that his intention was so much known, that now he could not avoid resigning. The King, during the whole conversation, seemed to leave open his dominion of saying, or unsaying, hereafter, as the negotiations on the anvil should have a prosperous or unfortunate issue. The chancellor was treating with Pitt; that is, had sent to desire to see him, and plied him on the 19th and 20th with large offers. Pitt refused all in direct terms, alledging, that the Duke of Newcastle had engrossed the King's whole confidence—and it was understood, that he

* Duke of Cumberland.

meaned to put an exclusive negative on that duke. Yet he deigned to name the price at which that diamond, his virtue, might be purchased for the crown. Ireland he demanded for Lord Temple; for Legge, the chancellorship of the exchequer; for George Grenville, paymaster; for James Grenville, secretary to the lord lieutenant; for Charles Townshend, treasurer of the chambers, or some such thing; for himself, secretary of state;—for his country, the *militia*, and some other rattles. He named the Duke of Devonshire to the treasury, and without consulting, answered for him. 1756. October. 'Pitt's objections and demands.'

In the mean time the Prince's new family kissed hands. Lord Bute as groom of the stole; Lord Huntingdon, master of the horse; Lord Euston, Lord Pembroke, Lord Digby, lords of the bedchamber; Mr. Monson and Mr. Ingram, grooms; Mr. Stone, secretary; Lord Bathurst, treasurer; Mr. Masham, auditor; Mr. Brudenel, master of the robes; besides equerries and clerks of the green-cloth. Mr. Cadogan was appointed privy-purse to Prince Edward, who had also grooms and equerries. The late governor, Lord Waldegrave, was offerred a pension on Ireland, and refused it: they then gave him the reversion of a teller's place; and one cannot tell which was most rejoyced at the separation, he or the Princess, who had been suspicious enough to take for a spy, a man, who would even have scorned to employ one. The fate of one man was singular: the Prince of Wales himself condescended to desire Mr. Stone to prevent Scott, his sub-preceptor, from being continued in any employment about him—and it was granted. 'Prince of Wales's new household.'

1756. October. Scott has been mentioned in the civil wars of the tutorhood as attached to Stone: the reason given for his exclusion was, his having talked with contempt of the Prince's understanding *, and with freedom of the Princess's conduct. The truth was, Scott was a frank man, of no courtly depth, and had indiscreetly disputed with Lord Bute, who affected a character of learning. The King, who loved to mark † his empire in the loss of it, refused to give the golden key himself to Lord Bute, as was usual, but sent it by the Duke of Grafton, who slipped it into his pocket, and advised him to take no notice of the manner. The earl, on being wished joy, was said to reply, he felt none, while the Duke of Newcastle was minister.

'Pitt visits Lady Yarmouth.'

On the 21st, in the morning, the palace—not at all the scene of action, had its solitude alarmed. The pages of the back-stairs were seen hurrying about, and crying, "Mr. Pitt wants my Lady Yarmouth." That great stranger made her an abrupt visit—said he was come to explain himself, lest it should be thought he had not been sufficiently explicit. He repeated his exclusion of Newcastle—and gave some civil, though obscure hints, as if, in losing his grace, Hanover might not lose *all* its friends. The visit itself seemed to indicate that. The mistress of the King and the friend of the minister

* He once, before Lord Waldegrave, said to the Prince, who excused his own inapplication on the foot of idleness, "Sir, *yours* is not idleness; your brother Edward *is* idle, but you must not call being asleep all day being idle."

† See the motto to this book.

was not the first person to whom one should have expected a patriot would have addressed himself, who proscribed the minister, as he had long attacked the electorate. And, indeed, it looked as if Mr. Pitt was afraid of having been too explicit, not too little so. 1756. October.

However, the difficulty was increased. The question seemed at first to be, whether Cæsar or Pompey should have the honour of supporting Crassus—when neither would, Crassus made a show of venturing to stand alone: and it seemed almost as easy for him, as for either of the others. For Fox could neither trust to a parliament devoted to Newcastle; nor dared, in his own unpopular situation, to call a new one. Pitt had no party at all: a new parliament would have suited him best, for he could not have fewer adherents than in the old one; and, considering the temper of the nation on the late miscarriages, in which he had no hand, might acquire some clamorous voices; but that very dissatisfaction made the expedient too dangerous. How each was councilled by his friends may be seen in a moment. Stone, cold and never sanguine, advised Newcastle to give up a desperate game: Murray threw in censures on his conduct to Fox: the Duke of Grafton, though hating Fox, wisely suggested a reconciliation with him: the chancellor, sullen and mortified, protested he would follow his grace, but endeavoured to encourage him to stand alone, affirming they could carry every thing by their numbers; and having ever been ready to torture the law to annoy his enemies, he could not 'State of parties.'

1756. October. 'State of parties.'

help expecting to find the same support from it for himself and his friends. Sir George Lyttelton concurred with him—and if that was encouragement, offerred to accept any employment. Nugent and Lord Duplin, on the contrary, dissuaded such rash measures; the latter said sensibly, "Fox and Pitt shall not need but sit still and laugh, and we must walk out of the house." Fox's court (except Doddington, who was too shrewd not to think ill of their cause, and who accordingly acted disgust on not having been more consulted), talked as if triumphant, the moment they heard the reconciliation of Newcastle and Pitt was desperate. The Duke of Marlborough said, Newcastle must be sent to Sussex; Claremont was too near. The Duke of Bedford would have permitted him to retire thither with a pension, and eagerly drove Fox to unite with Pitt. The party of the latter, that is, Lord Temple, was indecently forward to come into place, and having always hated by the scale of his ambition, he had only passions to sacrifice, not principles, when the terms of his advancement were to be adjusted.

Newcastle sinking, catched at feathers: his grace proposed to Lord Egmont to be secretary of state; but he demanded an English peerage for his son, as the price of his own acceptance of one of the first posts in England. Ministries were become such precarious tenures, that scarce any man would list in them under places for life. The foreign ministers, a nation not apt to joke, complained bitterly of our frequent revolutions; and D'Abreu, the Spanish resident, said, before

they ventured to negotiate, they were obliged to ask who would be minister next session? 1756. October.

At last the important point was decided, and Perfidy, after thirty years, *had* an intermission. The Duke of Newcastle (with all the satisfaction which must have attended the discovery that not one man of sense would trust him any longer) declared his resolution of resigning. Duke of Newcastle determines to resign.

Oct. 27.—The King sent for Fox, acquainted him that Newcastle would retire, and asked him if Pitt would join with him; bad him try. Fox the next day went to the prince's levèe, and taking Pitt apart at the head of the stairs, said to him, "Are you going to Stowe? I ask, because I believe you will have a message of consequence by persons of consequence." "You surprize me," said Pitt; "are you to be of the number?" Fox: "I don't know." Pitt: "One likes to say things to men of sense, and of your great sense, rather than to others; and yet it is difficult even to you." Fox: "What! you mean you will not act with me as a minister?" Pitt: "I do." And then, to soften the abruptness of the declaration, left Fox with saying, he hoped Fox would take an active part, which his health would not permit him to do. 'Pitt declines acting with Fox.'

The next day the Duke of Devonshire was ordered by the King to try to compose some ministry; and by the same authority sent for Mr. Pitt; at the same time endeavouring to make him accommodate with Fox. But they had given too much weight to Pitt by these submissions, for such a negotiator to be able to recover the balance. Pitt, knowing both his own

1756. October. 'Negotiations for the formation of a new ministry.'

strength and the weakness of the mediator, behaved with haughty warmth; complained of the indignity offerred to him by sending Fox, whom he proscribed from the cabinet; softened a little in general, yet said, he must promote the inquiries; excused himself for having named his grace to the treasury, but as it was necessary to place some great lord there to whom the Whigs would look up, his partiality had made him presume to propose his grace: professed not only duty to the King, but obligation for the person now commissioned to treat with him. The duke took up spirit, and told him, if he refused, the King would be supported without him—Pitt did not mean to drive them to that extremity. The negotiations took up many days, all parties raising difficulties, none bringing facilities. Pitt, who wanted friends for places, more than places for his friends, seemed to think that he must figure by the greatness, since he could not by the number of his demands. Yet of his small squadron, he seemed sollicitous to provide only for his allies the Grenvilles, as if what filled his own little administration would suffice for the nation's. He even affected to have forgot Charles Townshend, and, as if recollecting himself, cried, "Oh! there is one that will not like to be at the bottom of the list." The mediator-duke took care this neglect should not be a secret. On one point Pitt affected decency: being asked whom he wished to have secretary at war, he replied, he did not pretend to meddle there. He relaxed on the article of sending away the Hanoverians; softened towards a war on the continent; owned the King of Prussia was a great object, but

would not determine on foreign affairs till he had received more lights from the King's servants. With regard to the inquiries, he said at last, he would neither hinder nor move them; he was not vindictive. Addresses all the while were repeated with violence. The city of London, always governed by the absurdest heads in it, demanded to have the supplies stopped, till grievances should be redressed. Indeed it was much easier to delay than to raise them: and yet nothing but the wickedness of the intention could justify the folly of the injunction.

1756. October. 'Negotiations for the formation of a new ministry.'

If Mr. Pitt had no occasion to dismiss many, Newcastle and Fox were not careless of saving all they could; in which they found great facility, as Mr. Pitt had not cousins enough to fill the whole administration. Neither of the former gave up their views on the power they quitted. Fox particularly laboured to throw every difficulty in Pitt's way; and with some cause: at once excluded from government, and menaced with a censure, it behoved him not to make over too much strength to his antagonist: and if he did not succeed in recovering his own fall, at least he left so narrow a seat to Mr. Pitt, that it required another convulsion, before the latter could fix himself with any firmness. Fox hoped first to divide Pitt and Legge: the Duke of Devonshire, who thought he had influence on the latter, tried it, but in vain. Fox too had fruitlesly endeavoured to gain Legge; and on his first thought of breaking with Newcastle, had writ a confidential letter to Legge, begging him to come to town, and concert measures with him on the deplorable

1756. October. 'Negotiations for the formation of a new ministry.'

situation of affairs. Legge made no answer. Fox in wrath sent for his letter back: Legge returned it at once without a word; and depending on his favour with Lord Bute, now thought himself so considerable a part of the new accession, that he hoped to engross the treasury himself; and actually proposed Lord Hertford for first lord. Fox laboured to engage the Duke of Devonshire to accept the treasury, and the Duke of Bedford to go to Ireland, at once to fix another ally in the cabinet, and to disappoint both Legge and Temple. Bedford was refractory; but luckily the throne of Ireland was heaven itself in the eyes of the duchess; and the vast emoluments of secretary were full as vehement temptations to their secretary Mr. Rigby. Fox in the mean time endeavoured to buoy up the spirits of the King, telling him he neither wanted expedients nor courage; intreated him to have patience; that Pitt would rise in his demands; that at last and at worst he would take the treasury himself and go to the Tower, rather than they should shave his Majesty's head—"Ah!" cried the King sensibly, "if you go to the Tower, I shall not be long behind you!" The Duke of Bedford was as courageous as Fox, and proposed warm opposition, or to support Fox in the administration. And thus far Fox had judged right; Pitt's demands no longer abated. He required the dismission of Lord Holderness on the affair of the Hanoverian soldier; and proposed to take Sir Thomas Robinson for coadjutor, only exchanging provinces; himself would take the northern; that was, the Hanoverian—and it is worthy remark, that formerly

1756.

'Negotiations for the formation of a new ministry.'

in a dialogue with Fox, when the Duke of Newcastle had pretended to govern the House of Commons by Sir Thomas Robinson, Pitt, with utter contempt, had said, "He may as well send his jack-boot to govern us." Lord Holderness wrote to Mr. Pitt, that he was willing to resign as the other great persons were to do; but if it was to be inflicted as a punishment, he would insist on having his crime proved, nor till then *would* resign. This comforted the King; he abhorred the thought of seeing Pitt, and complained of the hardship of being forced to tell the only secrets he had to a man whom he never would let into his closet. His expostulations on these occasions were always pathetic and sensible: "What a strange country," said he to Fox, "is this! I have never known but two or three men in it who understood foreign affairs: you do not study them—and yet here comes one man (Pitt), and says he has not so much as read Wicquefort, has all to learn, and demands to be secretary of state! Indeed, he has proposed Sir Thomas Robinson too, who does understand foreign affairs, but then Mr. Pitt insists on taking the province which Sir Thomas understands." In the same conversation the King said, "The Duke of Newcastle is an honest man and loves the Duke of Devonshire, but he will be jealous of him to-morrow, if the latter takes the treasury."

In this situation, with no ministry, no plan for supplies, no communication for the foreign ministers, all government at a stand; it was necessary to defer the meeting of the parliament. Pitt at last condescended to acquaint the Duke of

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1756. Devonshire that Lord Temple would be content to take the business of the navy on him. Yet the more they acquiesced, the more Fox laboured to defeat all accommodation by which he was to be excluded. His last effort, and a rash one it was, concluded to have the great Lords and Commoners summoned to a meeting at Lord Granville's, where the indignities offerred to the King, and the exorbitances of Mr. Pitt's demands, were to be laid before them. They were to be intreated to stand by the King in lopping Mr. Pitt's list; and, with their approbation, a message was to be sent to him in the name of the council, that his Majesty would not endure the readmission of Mr. Legge; that Mr. Pitt should in other things be contented, except that Mr. Fox must be chancellor of the exchequer. On this foot, and on no other, the Duke of Devonshire consented to take the treasury. Fox wished him to retain Ireland, that so, if they could weather the approaching session, the duke might be ready to resign the treasury into his hands, which seemed to be the drift of his intrigues:—if Devonshire could not keep Ireland, then Bedford was designed to it. The secret was kept till the very day it was to be disclosed; when the Duke of Grafton, having learnt it either from the King or Devonshire, was amazed at the wildness of mischief with which it was big, and went to lament with his son-in-law, Lord Hertford. It happened that Mr. Conway and Horace Walpole were at dinner with the earl, and to them, as soon as the duke was gone, he communicated what he had heard. They were no less astonished than the others

'Fox labours to obstruct the formation of a ministry.'

had been, and saw plainly that Fox was precipitating the King and the chief persons in England upon a measure, from which it would be impossible for them to recede, to which it was impossible Pitt should submit, and that in consequence of such a rupture at such a crisis, heated as the passions of men were, even a civil war might ensue. To crush such a plan in its embrio was, in reality, serving Fox, and certainly the nation:—these were sufficient inducements; and yet, as I have said, Walpole had the additional satisfaction of disappointing the views of that cabal, when he persuaded Mr. Conway to go directly to the Duke of Devonshire, and alarm him with the true picture of the measure in which he had been drawn to concur. His timid nature easily caught the panic: he made the intended meeting be laid aside, the message put off; and the next day, without acquainting Fox with his determination of accepting without conditions, went to Kensington, and consented to take the treasury. Fox and the Duke of Bedford, who were waiting in the outward room, were thunderstruck—the latter expostulated warmly with Devonshire—the other, who had found Mr. Conway at Devonshire-house the night before, did not want to be told who shot the arrow; still less, when Devonshire officiously assured him it was not Mr. Conway. Fox has said to the real author of his miscarriage, that from that hour he dated all the events in the subsequent revolutions. This happened on the 2d and 3d of November.

1756.

'The designs of Fox defeated.'

'Duke of Devonshire accepts the treasury.'

The Duke of Devonshire having yielded, the new system

1756. began to range itself. Legge professed acquiescence—artfully; if Pitt acceded, he must of course: if Pitt did not, Legge would have all the merit of his own moderation. But that conqueror grew still more tractable: he first yielded to take the southern province; next, even to bear with Lord Holderness, if his Majesty insisted on it; yet hoped it would be waved, as he [otherwise] might set out with doing something disagreeable to his Majesty, [he] having engaged his honour, if a question should be moved on that lord, not to oppose it. Some parting rays of popular virtue were still made to glimmer: the party even ordered one Evans, a lawyer, to draw up articles of impeachment against Lord Anson; and transports were ordered for the Hanoverians, as the country magistrates urged that they were not obliged by law to billet them. The nation all the while expected great services from Pitt—but even the Duke of Newcastle had talked reformation, and once had gone so far as to cashier the pensions of three old widows. Pitt's was a nobler style; and, as Addison said of Virgil, if he did contaminate himself, *he at least tossed about his dirt with an air of majesty.*

'New ministry.'

With more sincerity the little band of patriots disposed themselves to fill the conquered provinces: yet so few of them were in parliament, and so many had difficulties of being re-chosen, that it almost promised to be an administration out of parliament. Fox even skirmished his borough from Dr. Hay, one of the new admiralty; and had others been as desperate, would have opposed most of them on their re-elections. Pitt

himself was distressed; and he, who had lately so warmly attacked the Duke of Newcastle from the seat which he held by one of that duke's boroughs, could not propose to his grace to re-elect him, when rising on his ruins. But a little parliamentary craft of shifting boroughs, adjusted this: though Newcastle vaunted that he would show both Pitt and Fox that the parliament was his. 1756.

The Duke of Bedford for some time impeded the entire arrangement, by warmly refusing to take Ireland. Yet he too at last was mollified, after having, as was his way, declared himself with violence enough, to show, that if he changed afterwards, it was by the influence of others. Fox had gone to Woburn to persuade him; in vain: yet, returning, and indeed, knowing what advocates he left behind, ventured (lest that kingdom should be given up before Bedford was brought to a proper temper), to assure the Duke of Devonshire that Bedford would accept the lord-lieutenancy.

When all was adjusted, the Duke of Newcastle resigned, Nov. 11th. As he retired *without terrors* and *with parade*, it was easy to penetrate his hopes of returning to court. It was assiduously propagated in all the public papers, that he departed without place or pension; and his enormous estate, which he had sunk from thirty to thirteen thousand pounds a year by every ostentatious vanity, and on every womanish panic, between cooks, mobs, and apothecaries, was now represented by his tools as wasted in the cause of the government. To show how *unrewarded* he chose to relinquish the Duke of Newcastle resigns.

1756. administration, this was the catalogue of his disinterestedness. His dukedom was entailed on his nephew, Lord Lincoln; the only one * conferred by George the Second. Another nephew, Mr. Shelley, had the reversion of the pipe-office. His cousin, young T. Pelham, already of the board of trade, got another reversion in the custom-house. His creature, Sir George Lyttelton, was indemnified with a peerage. His secretary, Mr. West, was rewarded with a reversion for himself and son. Jones, a favourite clerk, and nephew of the chancellor, had another reversion. An Irish earldom was given to Mr. O'Brien.

All this being granted, his grace retired to Claremont, where, for about a fortnight, he played at being a country gentleman. Guns and green frocks were bought, and at past sixty, he affected to turn sportsman; but getting wet in his feet, he hurried back to London in a fright, and his country was once more blessed with his assistance.

The chancellor resigns.

Newcastle's resignation was on the 19th followed by that of the chancellor. Great endeavours had been used to retain him, or to engage Murray to succeed him: but what terrified or disgusted the former could have no temptation to the latter, who was equally a friend to Newcastle, was by no means equally ambitious, was more timorous, and still less disposed to serve with Pitt alone. Fatigue determined the scale with

* On the removal of Sir Robert Walpole, the King had consented to make the Earls of Northampton and Ailesbury dukes, but neither having a son, they declined that honour.

Lord Hardwicke, which power and profit would have kept suspended. The great seal was given in commission to Lord Chief Justice Willes, Judge Wilmot, and Baron Smyth. Wilmot was much attached to Legge, and a man of great vivacity of parts. He loved hunting and wine, and not his profession. He had been an admired pleader before the House of Commons, but being reprimanded on the contested election for Wareham with great haughtiness by Pitt, who told him he had brought thither the pertness of his profession, and being prohibited by the Speaker from making a reply, he flung down his brief in a passion, and never would return to plead there any more. Fox procured the place of attorney-general for Henley; the comptroller's staff for Mr. Edgcumbe; the band of pensioners and treasurership of the household for Lord Berkeley of Stratton, and Lord Bateman; an English barony for Lord Hilsborough; and asked another for his own wife and son—too ambitious a declaration of the figure he still intended to make in the House of Commons. But this was with great indignation refused; and the King, who knew how little he should displease by it, abused him in very undignified terms to the Duke of Grafton, saying, "He now wants to set his dirty shoe on my neck."

1756. The changes settled.

Lord Sandys was again shuffled to the top of the wheel, as Doddington was again to the bottom; the former being raised to Speaker of the House of Lords, the latter dismissed, with Lord Darlington, and a few others. Pitt's list was confined to this small number: himself, Legge, and Lord Temple have

1756. been mentioned: George Grenville succeeded Doddington as treasurer of the navy; James Grenville, a lord of the treasury; Potter, a joint-paymaster of Ireland; Sir Richard Lyttelton had the jewel-office; Martin, secretary of the treasury; the Admirals West and Forbes, with Dr. Hay, Elliot, and Hunter, were put into the admiralty; John Pitt was made surveyor of the roads, and Charles Townshend, treasurer of the chambers. At the same time garters were given to the Duke of Devonshire, Lord Carlisle, Lord Northumberland, and Lord Hertford. A red ribband and an Irish peerage to old Blakeney, who went to Kensington in a hackney-coach with a foot-soldier behind it. As Blakeney had not only lost his government, but was bed-rid while it was losing, these honours were a little ridiculed; but the new ministers and admiralty inclining to treat Mr. Byng with less rigour, this step was taken by the old court to refresh the resentment of the populace. Excepting Lord Temple and Pitt himself, the cabinet was still engrossed by the adherents of Newcastle and Fox; and little harmony was to be expected, or was designed from a jumble of three such discordant interests. The invention was Fox's, who, first of all men, projected to leave his friends in place, to distress his hostile successors. Formerly the dependents of a minister resigned with affected dignity, or were abruptly dismissed—pensions and reversions now broke the fall of the few who were disgraced.

'The changes settled.'

Pitt minister. Pitt now appeared as first minister; yet between his haughtiness on one hand, and the little share he assumed,

except in foreign affairs, on the other; with the affected court paid by Fox's party to the Duke of Devonshire, and with the King's disposition to communicate himself only to his old servants, all application was made to that duke, whom the roses of power soon charmed to a forgetfullness of the thorns. Yet the irresolution of his temper, and desire of preventing farther dissentions, made him yield so much to Pitt, that Fox finding himself no more minister by his proxy than he was in person, left the town in discontent; but was soon recalled by his friends, who assured him that Pitt could not long maintain his post, both from his ill health and the weakness of his party. From the first hour of his power he was confined with the gout, and remained so during greatest part of the winter; and for accession of strength he had nothing but the partiality * of the Tories, who, taking all opportunities of declaring for him, gave great offence; and both his gout and his new friends were topics of unlimited abuse, which was poured on him by Fox's direction and dependents. A paper-war of the most inveterate kind was opened. Two weekly papers, called *The Test* and *Contest*, besides occasional pamphlets, were the vehicles of satire. Murphy, a player, wrote the former on behalf of Fox; and Francis, a poetic clergyman, signalized himself on the same side.

1756. December. 'Pitt minister.'

The parliament met Dec. 2d. Pitt had prepared a long

Parliament meets.

* That partiality was not cordial, but founded on their hatred to Fox, and probably from secret intimations that the Princess, who meant to adopt them, was inclined to Pitt, and abhorred Fox for his connection with the Duke of Cumberland.

1756. December. speech which the King would not read, but sent to him to shorten it. The House of Commons soon adjourned for the re-elections; and during the few days it sat, harmony so far took place, that there was no division, scarce a debate*: but the seeds sown in the preceding occurrences soon developed themselves in the ensuing year.

* A spurious speech having been vended for the King's, it was complained of, I think by Lord Sandwich, in the House of Lords, and the authors punished; Lord Hardwicke still taking the lead very dictatorially, but occasionally flattering Pitt on the composition of the true one.

Lord Cockburn's Memorials

Duke of Bedford

MEMOIRES

OF

THE YEAR 1757.

Sine cæde et sanguine Pauci. *Juv.*

A CENTURY had now passed since reason had begun to attain that ascendant in the affairs of the world, to conduct which it had been granted to man six thousand years ago. If religions and governments were still domineered by prejudices, if creeds that contradict logic, or tyrannies that enslave multitudes to the caprice of one, were not yet exploded, novel absurdities at least were not broached; or if propagated, produced neither persecutors nor martyrs. Methodism made fools, but they did not arrive to be saints: and the histories of past ages describing massacres and murders, public executions of violence, and the more private though not less horrid arts of poison and daggers, began to be regarded almost as romances. Cæsar Borgia seemed little less fabulous than Orlando; and whimsical tenures of

1757.

'Character of the times.'

1757. manors were not more in disuse, than sanguinary methods of preserving or acquiring empires. No prime ministers perished on a scaffold, no heretics in the flames: a Russian * princess spared her competitor; even in Turkey the bow-string had been relaxed—alas! frenzy revived in France the credibility of assassination; guilt renewed in England machinations of scarce a whiter dye.

'Contest between parliament and clergy in France.' The contests between the parliament and the clergy about the bull *unigenitus* were still carried on in France. The conduct of the former was such a happy composition of good sense and temper, that they neither deserted their duty under oppression, nor sought to inflame the populace to support them against their oppressors. Even the clergy were blessed with more moderation than is usual in such contentions; and, what was as lucky, had no able heads to direct them. The court of Rome, instead of profiting of these divisions, had used its influence to compose them. Benedict the Fourteenth then sat in the apostolic chair; a man in whom were united all the amiable qualities of a prince and a pastor: he had too much sense to govern the church by words, too much goodness to rule his dominions by force. Amid the pomp of popery he laughed at form, and by the mildness of his virtue made fanaticism, of whatever sect, odious. Yet this venerable pontiff, now sinking under the weight of fourscore years, was at last surprized into, or perhaps never knew that his name was used in, issuing a bull to enforce, under pain of damnation, the

* The Czarina Elizabeth, who only confined the Princess Anne of Mecklemberg.

acceptance of the bull *unigenitus*. Louis the Fifteenth was persuaded to use that most solemn act of their government, a bed of justice, to compel the parliament to register the papal ordinance. The greater part of the members preferred resigning their employments. The King had taken this step in one of those relapses into weakness which his constitution furnished, rather than a want of understanding. The dauphin was a far more uniform bigot. It is related of him, that about a year before this period, reading the life of Nero, he said, "*Ma foi, c'étoit le plus grand scélérat du monde! il ne lui manquoit que d'être Janseniste.*" And he had even gone so far as to tell his father, "that were he king, and the pope should bid him lay down his crown, he would obey." The king, with a tender shrewdness, said, "and if he should bid you take mine from me, would you?"

1757. 'France.'

The king not being constant in such steady obedience to the clergy, they had much aspersed him, and traduced his life and government. The partizans of the parliament loved him as little; and when he passed through Paris to hold his bed of justice, he was received with sullen coldness. One woman alone crying, *Vive le Roi!* was thrown down and trampled to death by the mob. In such a disposition, it was almost extraordinary that no fanatic was found to lift the arm of violence; a madman supplied the part, without inviting heaven to an association of murder.

Jan. 5th.—Between five and six in the evening the king was getting into his coach to go to Trianon. A man, who had

January. King of France stabbed.

1757. January. 'King of France stabbed.'

lurked about the colonades for two days, pushed up to the coach, jostled the dauphin, and stabbed the king under the right arm with a long knife; but the king having two thick coats, the blade did not penetrate deep. The king was surprized, but thinking the man had only pushed against him, said, "*Le coquin m'a donné un furieux coup de poing*"—but putting his hand to his side and feeling blood, he said, "*Il m'a blessé; qu'on le saississe, et qu'on ne lui fasse point de mal.*" The king was carried to bed; the wound proved neither mortal nor dangerous: but strong impressions, and not easily to be eradicated, must have been made on a mind gloomy and superstitious. The title of *Well-beloved* could but faintly balance the ideas of Henry the Third stabbed, of Henry the Fourth stabbed, of enraged Jesuits, and an actual wound. Yet all the satisfaction that the most minute investigation of circumstances could give, and that tortures could wrest from the assassin, were obtained. Damiens, the criminal, appeared clearly to be mad: he had been footman to several persons, had fled for a robbery, had returned to Paris from a dark and restless habit of mind; and from some preposterous avidity of horrid fame, and from one of those wonderfull contradictions of the human mind, a man aspired to renown that had descended to theft. Yet in this dreadfull complication of guilt and frenzy, there was room for compassion: the unfortunate wretch was sensible of the predominance of his black temperament; and the very morning of the assassination, asked for a surgeon to let him blood; and to the last gasp of being, per-

1757. January. 'Torture and execution of Damiens.'

sisted that he should not have committed his crime, if he had been blooded. What the miserable man sufferred is not to be described. When first seized, and carried into the guard-chamber, the garde-des-sceaux and the Duc d'Ayen ordered the tongs to be heated, and pieces of flesh torn from his legs, to make him declare his accomplices. The industrious art used to preserve his life was not less than the refinement of torture by which they meaned to take it away. The inventions to form the bed on which he lay (as the wounds on his leg prevented his standing) that his health might in no shape be affected, equalled what a refining tyrant would have sought to indulge his own luxury. When carried to his dungeon, Damiens was wrapped up in matrasses, lest despair might tempt him to dash his brains out—but his madness was no longer precipitate. He even sported, horridly sported, with indicating variety of innocent persons as his accomplices: and sometimes, more harmlessly, with playing the fool with his judges. In no instance he sunk either under terror or anguish. The very morning on which he was to endure the question, when told of it, he said with the coolest intrepidity, "*La journée sera rude*"—after it, insisted on wine with his water, saying, "*Il faut ici de la force.*" And at the accomplishment of his tragedy, studied and prolonged on the precedent of Ravaillac's, he supported all with unrelaxed firmness; and even unremitted torture of four hours, which succeeded to his being two hours and half under the question, forced from him but some momentary yells—a lamentable spectacle; and

1757. January. perhaps a blameable one. Too severe pains cannot be used to eradicate the infernal crime of holy assassination; but what punishments can prevent madness? would not one rather stifle under a feather bed, than draw out on the rack a being infected with a frenzy of guilt and heroism?

'King compliments Lewis on his escape.' King George ordered Mr. Pitt to send a compliment on the French king's escape, which was conveyed by the Spanish minister, and was handsomely received and answered.

The year opened in England in the same temper with which the last had closed. Pitt was much confined; when he appeared at council, was haughty and visionary; so much, that after one of their meetings, Lord Granville said, "Pitt used to call me madman, but I never was half so mad as he is." Legge had little power, and was unsatisfied. The Duke of Devonshire preserved what he called candour; that is, he listened with complaisance to Pitt's secrets, and to be impartial, repeated them to Fox. The Duke of Bedford accepted Ireland: the primate was come over to feel what would be the future temper of that government; and threw himself into great court to the new lord-lieutenant and his friends. Lord George Sackville, to promote those views, seemed to incline to Fox, and took every opportunity of showing how usefull or troublesome he could be.

Trial of Admiral Byng. In the mean time the trial of Admiral Byng proceeded, having begun at the conclusion of the preceding year. At the same time had been held a novel sort of court of justice: the generals Legonier, Huske, and Cholmondeley, had been

1757. January. 'Trial of Admiral Byng.'

appointed by the King to examine the conduct of Lord Effingham, and the colonels Stewart and Cornwallis, who having been sent to join their regiments at Minorca, gave their opinions with General Fowke at Gibraltar against granting to Admiral Byng the force which he had been ordered to take from thence. This inquiry was private, and a kind of trial whether there ought to be a trial. The inquisitors made a favourable report, and the officers in question were admitted to court as usual.

Before the conclusion of the more solemn trial at Portsmouth, an incident happened of an indecent kind, and served, as perhaps was intended, to renew unfavorable sentiments of the admiral. Among numbers whose curiosity led them to attend the trial, were the Scotch Earl of Morton and Lord Willoughby of Parham, both men of very fair characters; the latter attached to Lord Hardwicke. Both assiduously attended the examination of the witnesses against the admiral; both returned to London without hearing one word of his defence —and as they forbore to speak their opinions, the mystery of their silence, which could not be interpreted propitiously, and the seeming candour, in men of reputation, of not being willing to condemn, carried double condemnation. Yet as Mr. Byng proceeded on his defence, these omens dispersed; and before the examination of his witnesses was finished, the tide of report promised him an honorable acquittal. On the 20th of January the trial was closed; and nine days intervening between that and the sentence, and many whispers getting wind of great altercations in the court-martial, no doubt was entertained but

1757. January. 'Trial of Admiral Byng.'

that the contest lay between an entire absolution, and the struggles of some, who wished to censure, when it was impossible to condemn.

Before sentence was pronounced, an express was dispatched to the Admiralty at London, to demand, whether the court-martial were at liberty to mitigate an article of war on which they had doubts. They were answered in the negative. It was the twelfth of the articles of war on which they had scruples. It was formerly left to the discretion of the court to inflict death or whatever punishment they thought proper, on neglect of duty: but about three years before this period the articles had been new-modelled; and to strike the greater terror into the officers of the fleet, who had been thought too remiss, the softer alternative had been omitted. From the most favorable construction (for the members of the court) of the present case, it was plain that the court-martial, who had demanded whether the law would not authorize them to mitigate the rigour of the article, thought the admiral by no means deserved to be included in its utmost severity. This they must have thought—they could not mean to inquire whether they might mitigate what they did not desire to mitigate.

How the more moderate members of the court obtained the acquiescence of their brethren to this demand is surprizing. for Admiral Boscawen, who had the guard of the prisoner at Portsmouth, and who was *not* one of the judges, but a lord of the Admiralty, seems by the event to have understood to a

prophetic certainty the constitution of the court. Dining at Sir Edward Montagu's before the trial, and it being disputed what the issue of it would be, Boscawen said bluntly, "Well, say what you will, *we* shall have a majority, and he will be condemned." This the Duchess of Manchester * repeated to Mrs. Osborn †, and offerred to depose in the most solemn manner. 1757. January.

Admiral Byng's sentence, and the behaviour of the court-martial.

Accordingly, Jan. 29th, Mr. Byng was summoned to hear his sentence. He went with that increase of animated tranquillity which a man must feel who sees a period to his sufferings, and the rays of truth and justice bursting in at last upon his innocence. His judges were so aware of the grounds he had for this presumption, that they did permit a momentary notice to be given him, that the sentence was unfavourable: a friend was ordered to prepare him—and felt too much of the friend to give the hint sufficient edge; but by too tenderly blunting the stroke, contributed to illustrate the honour and firmness of the admiral's mind—he started, and cried, "Why they have not put a slur on me, have they?" fearing they had censured him for cowardice. The bitterness of the sentence being explained, and being satisfied that his courage was not stigmatized, his countenance resumed its serenity, and he directly went with the utmost composure to hear the law pronounced. For a moment he had been alarmed with shame; death, exchanged for that, was the next good to an acquittal.

I have spoken of Admiral Byng, not only as of a man who thought himself innocent, but as of one marked for sacrifice by

* Wife of Sir Edward Montagu. † Sister of Admiral Byng.

1757. January. 'Author's impressions.'

a set of ministers, who meant to divert on him the vengeance of a betrayed and enraged nation. I have spoken, and shall speak of him as of a man most unjustly and wickedly put to death: and as this was the moment from which my opinion sprung, however lamentably confirmed by the event, it is necessary in my own vindication to say a few words, lest prejudice against the persecutors, or for the persecuted, should be suspected of having influenced my narrative. I can appeal to God that I never spoke to Mr. Byng in my life, nor had the most distant acquaintance with any one of his family. The man I never saw but in the street, or in the House of Commons, and there I thought his carriage haughty and disgusting. From report I had formed a mean opinion of his understanding: and from the clamours of the world, I was carried away with the multitude in believing he had not done his duty; and in thinking his behaviour under *his* circumstances weak and arrogant. I never interested myself enough about him to inquire whether this opinion was well or ill founded. When his pamphlet appeared, I read it, and found he had been cruelly and scandalously treated. I knew enough not to wonder at this conduct in *some* of his persecutors—yet it concerned not me; and I thought no more about it till the sentence, and the behaviour of his judges which accompanied it, struck me with astonishment! I could not conceive, how men could acquit honorably, and condemn to death with the same breath! How men could feel so much, and be so insensible at the same instant: and from the prejudice of education which had told me that the law of England understood that its ministers of

justice should always be council *for* the prisoner, I could not comprehend how the members of the court-martial came to think that a small corner of a law ought to preponderate for rigour, against a whole body of the same law which they understood directed them to mercy; and I was still more startled to hear men urge that their consciences were bound by an oath, which their consciences told them would lead them to murder. Lest this should be thought a declamatory paraphrase, I will insert both the sentence and the letter of the court-martial; and will appeal to *impartial* posterity, whether I have exaggerated, whether it was necessary for me, or whether it was possible for me to exaggerate the horrid absurdity of this proceeding:—supplements indeed there were made to it! 1757. January.

'Sentence of court-martial on Byng.'

"At a court-martial, assembled on board his Majesty's ship St. George, in Portsmouth harbour, upon the 28th of December, 1756, and held every day afterwards (Sundays excepted), till the 27th of January inclusive:

Present,

Thomas Smith, Esq. vice-admiral of the red, president,
Francis Holburne, Esq. rear-admiral of the red,
Harry Norris, Esq. rear-admiral of the white,
Thomas Brodrick, Esq. rear-admiral of the blue,
Captains, Charles Holmes, Francis Geary,
William Boys, John Moore,
John Simcoe, James Douglas,
John Bentley, Hon. Augustus Keppel.
Peter Denis,

1757. January. 'Sentence of court-martial on Byng.'

The court, pursuant to an order from the lords commissioners of the admiralty to Vice-admiral Smith, dated Dec. 14, 1756, proceeded to inquire into the conduct of the Hon. John Byng, admiral of the blue squadron of his Majesty's fleet, and to try him upon a charge, that during the engagement between his Majesty's fleet, under his command, and the fleet of the French King, on the 20th of May last, he did withdraw or keep back, and did not do his utmost to take, seize, and destroy, the ships of the French King, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to assist such of his Majesty's ships as were engaged in fight with the French ships, which it was his duty to have assisted; and for that he did not do his utmost to relieve St. Philip's castle, in his Majesty's island of Minorca, then besieged by the forces of the French King, but acted contrary to, and in breach of his Majesty's command: and having heard the evidence and the prisoner's defence, and very maturely and thoroughly considered the same, they are unanimously of opinion, that he did not do his utmost to relieve St. Philip's castle, and also that during the engagement between his Majesty's fleet under his command and the fleet of the French King on the 20th of May last, he did not do his utmost to take, seize, and destroy, the ships of the French King, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to assist such of his Majesty's ships as were engaged in fight with the French ships, which it was his duty to have assisted; and do therefore unanimously agree that he falls under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament of the twenty-second

1757. January.

year of his present Majesty, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the government of his Majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by sea; and as that article positively prescribes death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court, under any variation of circumstances, the court do therefore hereby unanimously adjudge the said Admiral John Byng to be shot to death, at such time, and on board such ship, as the lords commissioners of the admiralty shall direct.

'Sentence of court-martial on Byng.'

"But as it appears by the evidence of Lord Robert Bertie, Lieutenant-colonel Smith, Captain Gardiner, and other officers of the ship, who were near the person of the admiral, that they did not perceive any backwardness in him during the action, or any marks of fear or confusion, either from his countenance or behaviour, but that he seemed to give his orders coolly and distinctly, and did not seem wanting in personal courage, and from other circumstances, the court do not believe that his misconduct arose either from cowardice or disaffection, and do therefore unanimously think it their duty, most earnestly to recommend him as a proper object of mercy."

'Representation of court-martial.'

The sentence was accompanied by the following earnest representation:

"To the right honorable the lords commissioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain, &c.

"We, the underwritten, the president and members of the

1757. January. 'Representation of court-martial.'

court-martial, assembled for the trial of Admiral Byng, believe it unnecessary to inform your lordships, that in the whole course of this long trial, we have done our utmost endeavour to come at truth, and to do the strictest justice to our country, and the prisoner; but we cannot help laying the distresses of our minds before your lordships on this occasion, in finding ourselves under a necessity of condemning a man to death, from the great severity of the twelfth article of war, part of which he falls under, and which admits of no mitigation, even if the crime should be committed by an error in judgment only; and therefore for our own consciences sakes, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we pray your lordships, in the most earnest manner, to recommend him to his Majesty's clemency.

"We are, my lords, &c. &c."

Signed by the whole court.

From this sentence and this letter, it appears that Mr. Byng was acquitted, in the fullest manner, of cowardice by men, who (to say the best of them) were too scrupulous to acquit of a crime of which they thought him guilty, when they imagined it was their duty to condemn him for another crime, of which, it seems, they did not think him guilty. For thus unbiassed posterity will undoubtedly judge of those men. If there was any meaning in their strange procedure, it must have been this. They thought the admiral guilty of an error in judgment; and as from an error of judgment he had not

1757. January. 'Remarks on Byng's case.'

performed all they supposed he might have done, they held him to blame—and then, believing that the article of war intended to inflict death on all kinds of blame, they considered under what chapter of blame to rank Mr. Byng's error. *Disaffection* it was not, *cowardice* it was not—the article named but a third species, and that being *neglect*, these honest men agreed that a want of judgment was nearest related to *neglect*, and for that condemned him.

This reasoning, I presume, is the best defence that could be made for these expounders of naval law. An anecdote, much asserted at the time, belongs to this part of the proceeding. When the severer part of the court (the steady part of Admiral Boscawen's foretold majority) found great difficulty to wring from their associates acquiescence in condemnation, they are said to have seduced the latter by promising on their part, if Mr. Byng was condemned, to sign so favourable a representation of his case, that it should be impossible but he must be pardoned. If any thing could excuse men for condemning a person whom they thought innocent, it would be this, because there is nothing more uncommon, I might almost say, more unheard of, than the execution of a criminal, when his judge strongly recommends him to mercy. If this bargain for blood was suggested by the return of the courier who was dispatched by the court-martial for illumination——but I will not make surmizes:—the late ministers had sufficiently barricaded the gates of mercy when they engaged the King in that promise to the city of London—and whoever

1757. January. 'Remarks on Byng's case.'

will read the inhuman letters of their tool, Cleland, the secretary of the admiralty, will be a competent judge of what mercy Mr. Byng had to expect after condemnation.

The first flame lighted by this extraordinary sentence was the dissatisfaction it occasioned in the navy, when they found such a construction of the twelfth article, as made it capital for an officer to want, what he could not command, judgment. Admiral West threatened to resign if it was not altered. But they who had power to enforce execution on such an interpretation, took care not to consent to any correction. With what face could they put the admiral to death, if they owned that the article, on which he was condemned, wanted amendment?

Before I proceed to the consequences of this affair, I will say a few words, as I promised, on the engagement itself; though with regard to the fate of Mr. Byng, I think it ceased from this moment to be any part of the question. If he was guilty of any fault, his most conscientious judges thought it so small an one, that they did not hesitate to censure the law itself for blending it with capital crimes: and it will appear as fully that the duration of it was as short, as the nature of it was light; not extending beyond very few minutes. Had he been guilty of all that cowardice, which had at first been charged on him, and of which he was so honorably acquitted, it would still have been a notorious violation of the custom of England (and the common law itself is scarce more than custom), to put him to death after such earnest recom-

mendation of his judges—judges under no influence of the favorable sort! 1757. January.

The quintessence of the engagement, as shortly as I can state it, I take to have been this. After the signal for charging was made, the captain of the Intrepid bore down in a wrong direction, by which she was exposed to be raked by the enemy. Admiral West, who commanded that division, followed the same direction, rather than decline the engagement. This was brave: he was not the commander in chief. Mr. Byng, who was, perceived the disadvantage of this manœuvre; yet he too bore down, but more slowly. In his course the Princess Louisa and the Trident lay in his way, and he was obliged to disengage himself from them first, and then crouded all the sail he could. As the French had engaged in earnest, and had not sufferred, he could not have the least suspicion that they would give over so abruptly; but while he was involved with his own ships, they had prepared to retreat, and had already left him at such a distance that he thought it in vain to follow them that night. Afterwards, on a review of his fleet, he found so much damage done to what was before deplorable, expected so little to be able to raise the siege, and what in my opinion he dreaded with most reason, and which was equally the object of his orders, feared so much for Gibraltar, that he determined to retire thither, and had the concurrence of Admiral West. 'Remarks on Byng's case'

I have said that one part of the admiral's defence does not appear to be well reasoned; I mean his belief that, though he

1757. January. had beaten the French, he should not have saved the island. General Blakeney too deposed at the trial, that if the whole detachment ordered from Gibraltar had been landed at the time the fleet appeared off Mahon, it would have been insignificant: an opinion, in my judgment, as wrong as the admiral's. At last the fortress fell from want of hands—what had they sufferred? a reinforcement would have prolonged the siege, as the defeat of the French fleet might have starved the besiegers, if in either case a new squadron had been sent from England. To conclude all their efforts insufficient, both the admiral and general must have believed that the English ministry would have continued as remiss and culpable as they *had* been.

'Remarks on Byng's case.'

With regard to the sentence, the essence of it turns on the very few minutes in which the admiral neglected to make all possible sail—and for *that* he died! I, however shocked at the severity of his fate, am still impartial; and with the truth that becomes an historian from the most respectable down to so trifling a writer as myself, shall fairly declare all I know and observed: and difficult it would be for any man to have watched with more industry of attention every the most minute circumstance of this dark affair from the instant the sentence was made public. From that unremitted observation I formed this opinion. Mr. Byng, by nature a vain man, by birth the son of a hero, was full of his own glory, and apprehensive of forfeiting any portion of what had descended on him. He went, conscious of the bad condition of his ships and men, to dispute that theatre with the French, on which his father had

shone over the Spaniards; and he went persuaded that he should find a superior enemy. He dreaded forfeiting the reputation of forty years of brave service; he looked on Minorca as lost, and thought it could not be imputed to him. He had sagacity enough (without his strict orders) to comprehend, that if Gibraltar followed St. Philip's, which he knew would be the case if he was defeated, that loss would be charged on him: and after all, to mislead him, he had the addition of believing that he had satisfied his duty by obliging the French to retire. This seems to have been the man. He was, if I may be allowed the expression, a coward of his glory, not of his life—with regard to that, poor man! he had an opportunity of showing he was a hero.

1757. January. 'Remarks on Byng's case.'

It is not to boast any sagacity, and yet perhaps it required some extent of it to exceed Mr. Byng's enemies in discovering a fault which escaped their acuteness—but I did remark an instance that was never observed nor charged on him, in which he was undoubtedly guilty. In the course of the inquiry into the loss of Minorca (to be mentioned hereafter), a letter from the admiral was read carelessly in a very thin committee, which confirmed what the ministry did charge him with, delay; and fully explanatory of that vain-glory which I have described as characteristic of the man. In that letter he told the admiralty, that though their orders were so pressing, and the wind was fair, he did presume to stay for final orders—slightly he hinted, and seemingly without connecting it with his delay, that he thought he should have the rank of commander in chief.

1757. January. When this letter was produced, the admiral was dead; new objects had engaged the minds of men; and this is not a nation where any impressions engrave themselves deeply. If I have mentioned it now, it was to demonstrate my own impartial veracity: and yet, though the delay was blameable, no consequences flowed from it. If he had lingered, it had been but for a day or two: he had arrived in time to fight the French, and could but have fought them, arriving a day or two sooner. Dispatched so late as he was, he never could have reached Minorca early enough to disturb their landing. This reasoning therefore is meer speculation, and not intended to absolve or condemn the admiral, the justice of whose fate I again declare in my opinion by no means depended on the innocence or criminality of his behaviour: the iniquity of his suffering on such a sentence, and after such a recommendation of his judges, gave the tone to his catastrophe.

I must interrupt the sequel of his story to relate a few preceding and intervening passages.

Two Highland regiments raised.

Two battalions, each composed of a thousand Highlanders, were raised for the service of America; the command given to the brother of Lord Eglinton, and to the master of Lovat, the son of the famous old chieftain, who had sufferred on Tower-hill after the late rebellion. The young man had been forced into the same cause by his father, had been attainted and pardoned, but was never permitted to go into the Highlands; and though he received a pension from the crown, he was allowed nothing from his paternal estate. His jurisdiction too had

been abolished with the rest. This man was now selected by the Duke of Argyle, who told the government, that under no other person the clan of Frazers would inlist. Stanley, formerly connected with Pitt, now attached to the Duke of Newcastle, under whose ministry he was a candidate for the admiralty, took severe notice of this measure in a very good speech, and roundly charged it on Pitt's flattery to the Duke of Argyle. He expressed great dissatisfaction on the admission of disaffected Highlanders into the army, said if Frazer had any experience, he had learned it in rebellion; spared not the Scotch, and yet said, his was not prejudice, nor did he contract notions of any country by walking through the streets of it. This glanced at Pitt's former declamation against Oxford. Stanley was ungracious in his manner, but had sense and knowledge, heightened with much oddness, and supported by great personal courage. Lord George Sackville defended the measure, and asked why rank should not be allowed to these extemporaneous officers, as it had been to the colonels of the new regiments in the late rebellion? This slip was taken up by Lord Granby, who said he was sorry to hear rebels compared to lords who had taken up arms to crush the rebellion. Fox, not to be outstripped in homage to Argyle, justified the measure on the necessity of it. 1757. January.

January 19th.—The estimate of the ordnance was read. The extravagant expence of the late camp at Byfleet, where the Duke of Marlborough had played with the image of war, was disguised and lumped under various services. Charles 'Ordnance estimates.'

1757. January. Townshend moved to have the articles separated, that the truth might be known.

Guinea lottery. 21st.—Mr. Legge opened part of the supplies, of which one ingredient was a guinea lottery, the scheme of a visionary Jew, who long pestered the public with his reveries. The plan failed. Legge ostentatiously subscribed for a thousand tickets, and engaged his chief, the Duke of Devonshire, to do the same: but Legge took care privately to vend his own number, and was no loser. Beckford proposed new kinds of taxes on tea and salt, which were not accepted. Mr. Pitt, in the mean time, was confined. The patience and complaisance of the Tories was remarkable, who, notwithstanding the instructions which they had instructed their constituents to send them for speedy inquiries into the late mismanagement, revered the sick bed of the gouty minister, and presumed to tap no inquiry in his absence. What accession of dignity to him! what reflection on the capacity or integrity of his associates, who were not deemed qualified to scrutinize without him the conduct of their predecessors!

Militia Bill. 26th.—The militia bill was again offerred to the house. Mr. Conway opened in a very able manner another plan of his own for raising a militia from the capital towns. Mr. Fox supported it. Charles Townshend broke out into a vehemence of passion, on Fox's saying that the former bill ought to be altered to make it palatable to the lords, whom Townshend handled very roughly. Lord George Sackville opposed him, but took care not to show more partiality to Mr. Conway,

whose plan he disapproved. The consideration of the two schemes was deferred till the committee. 1757. January.

Charles, at the instigation of George Townshend, continued to sift the estimate of the ordnance. They found that the Duke of Marlborough had charged his own pay at ten shillings a day. No master of the ordnance had received so much, except Duc Schomberg, who had no regiment. The great Duke of Marlborough, the late Duke of Argyle, the Duke of Montagu, three men sufficiently attentive to their interest, had touched but four shillings. The Townshends clamoured on this, and the Duke of Marlborough refunded all that he had received above four shillings a day. Ordnance.

Feb. 7.—The younger of the brothers carried the war into another quarter, attacking Alderman Baker on a contract he had obtained from the government for victualling the troops in North America; and falling severely on his uncle Newcastle, whom he abused with more outrage than wit, in a very florid strain of satiric irony. Fox defended Baker, Nugent his patron: Baker on a subsequent day vindicated himself, and cleared the fairness of his contract. February. Baker's contract.

George Townshend and the Tories were displeased with these hostilities to Newcastle, who they feared would be driven to unite with Fox, with whom the Duke consulted for the defence of Baker. His grace and Fox being already complicated in the late measures, a new accession of common interest might renew their league. These apprehensions operated so strongly on Fox's enemies, that great coldness

1757. February. 'Parliamentary inquiries limited to Minorca.'

was shown on the matter of inquiries; and when George Townshend could no longer in decency defer to call for papers previous to the examination, as he did at last February 8th, the inquisition seemed affectedly limited to the loss of Minorca, on which subject, Newcastle and Fox had had leisure for months to amove from all offices whatever papers could be supposed to affect them. All discussion of the neglects in America, so extensive, so numerous, and so easily to be proved, were cautiously avoided. Indication sufficient, that the late ministers had left no evidence against themselves, was, that in a parliament constituted almost entirely of their friends, not a single objection was made by any of their dependents against the scrutiny into their conduct. The most upright ministers had never met popular attacks with indifference—were Newcastle, Anson, Fox, more bold, or more innocent than any of their predecessors? The farce of national justice had never appeared in more glaring colours: Mr. Byng had been kept a close prisoner from the instant of his arrest; thirty witnesses that he had demanded, had been denied to him; every evidence that could possibly affect him, had been produced—when the more powerfull criminals were to be charged, a single part of their administration was selected, papers were demanded by guess, and it was left to the discretion of offices full of clerks, all creatures of the late ministers, to send, omit, secrete, mangle what part of those papers they pleased. No committee was appointed to conduct the inquiry, nobody empowered to procure or manage evidence, or even to examine whether what

was so partially demanded, was not still more partially granted. Mr. Pitt protracted a commodious gout—George Townshend, the other mock-champion of the people, was negotiating with Lord Granby, to unite the patriot minister with the late chief of the criminal administration. 1757. February.

During these clandestine treaties and jugles, the sentence pronounced on the admiral grew a serious affair. The first impression taken was, that he must be pardoned. Many lawyers declared the sentence was illegal: at St. James's it was received as definitive: the Sovereign, the Duke, Princess Emily, and their train, treated the notion of mercy as ridiculous; and no whispers from any of their late partizans breathed a more gentle spirit on the court. At the Admiralty, on the contrary, a very different temper discovered itself. Admiral West, the friend of Pitt, and relation of Lord Temple, loudly demanded a revision of the 12th article; and though, he said, he would not decline immediate service to which he was appointed, he declared his resolution of resigning, unless the article was abrogated. Admiral Smith, natural brother of Lord Lyttelton and Sir Richard, who had been president of the court-martial, and was really a humane though weak man, wrote the most earnest letters to his brothers, to interest themselves in the safety of Mr. Byng, as the only method of quieting his (Smith's) conscience. The peer, blindly devoted to Newcastle and Hardwicke, returned an answer, that, to say no worse of it, did not breathe more humanity into a conscience already wounded. Sir Richard, on the contrary, interested himself warmly for the condemned; and Lord Temple took part

'Byng's sentence produces various impressions.'

1757. February.

enough to make it a measure in the Admiralty to refuse to sign the warrant for execution, unless they were better satisfied on the legality of the sentence—if their consciences could be tranquillized by such opiates as the casuists of Westminster-hall could administer, Lord Hardwicke had no apprehension but the warrant might still be signed. Accordingly, the King referred the sentence to the judges; and as there was no difficulty but what they could solve by pronouncing an absurdity legal, they soon declared, that a sentence, which acquitted of two crimes, and yet condemned, without specifying a third, was very good law. And thus, without an instance of interpreting a *new, obscure,* and *doubtfull* statute in the most unfavorable sense, and contrary to the stream of precedents, by which criminals recommended to mercy were constantly pardoned, the people of England (that some revengefull men might be gratified, and some guilty men might have their crimes atoned by the sacrifice of another man) obtained the alarming precedent of a sentence pronounced by implication! And this was the more alarming, as it was known that the word * *negligence* had been proposed in the court-martial, and

The sentence of the court-martial referred to the judges.

* Indeed they could not with much consistence condemn him of neglect, after they had previously and unanimously voted the following resolution, which was their 25th:

"The court are of opinion, that while the Ramillies (the admiral's own ship) was firing in going down, the Trident and ships immediately ahead of the Ramillies proved an impediment to the Ramillies continuing to go down."

It was proved too beyond contradiction, that he could not foresee that the French fleet would not stay for him, as they remained with their sails aback to the mast; and that he must have been up with them in ten or fifteen minutes, if the impediment had not happened from the Trident and Princess Louisa.

had been rejected by them. Consequently, they had thought it their duty to condemn for *no* crime; and the judges discovered the virtue of a crime in words, which the persons who framed the sentence had intended should *not* express it. What added to the criminality of the judges was, that the young Lord Torrington, the admiral's nephew, having petitioned the admiralty for leave for his uncle to appeal against so unprecedented a sentence, they desired to see his reasons, and having received them, laid them before the King and council, by whom they were referred to the judges. The judges, who had desired to see all the sentences in capital cases that had been given by courts-martial since the revolution, excused themselves from examining Lord Torrington's arguments, equally referred to them by the council. One can hardly avoid saying on such inconsistent behaviour, that the judges knew what was the inclination of the council on the different papers referred to their consideration; and that they accordingly rejected an appeal from a novel sentence, which they pronounced law from precedents which had all taken their rise under the abrogated law.

1757. February. 'Conduct of judges on the case referred to them.'

There had been periods when Fox would not have sufferred such casuistry in the profession to pass uncensured:—what was the part he now took?—It was not in truth an age to expect that a Regulus should exhort his country to pursue measures which would advance his own destruction. Few men would devote themselves, when other victims were marked for sacrifice. We will suppose, that Mr. Fox, implicated in

1757. February. 'Conduct of Fox.'

the miscarriages of the last year, might not be sorry to see the busy timidity of Newcastle, or the dark councils of Hardwicke, transferring his, their own, and Anson's neglects and mismanagements to Mr. Byng, and sweeping court, navy, parliament, and law, into a combination to cut off a man whom they had made obnoxious to the nation, because he was so to themselves—but what more crooked policy was that, which, not content with sheltering itself behind Mr. Byng, sought to ruin Mr. Pitt too, by painting him to the multitude as the champion of the condemned admiral? It is irksome to me to tell what whispers, what open speeches, what libels, Mr. Fox and his emissaries vented to blacken Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, for feeling symptoms of humanity towards a traduced, a condemned, a friendless man! Hardwicke moved steadily towards his point, the death of the criminal:—Fox sported with the life of that criminal, and turned mercy itself into an engine of faction to annoy his antagonist. Had Mr. Pitt effectually interposed, had the seal been set by his influence to Mr. Byng's pardon (however generous morality would scorn the office), policy might have excused Mr. Fox for traducing such humanity:—but previously to make mercy impossible, by making it dangerous, by making it odious!——I know not where ambition would stop, if it could leap over such sacred sensations!

February 16.—The day after the judges had given their opinion on the sentence, the King in council referred that opinion to the admiralty. The King signs no sentence him-

self: where he does not interpose his prerogative of pardon, execution follows of course. In naval affairs, the lords of the admiralty sign the warrant. Lord Temple had dropped hints to the King in favour of Byng, but with more reserve with regard to the prisoner, than towards the majesty of the sovereign, to whom at one time he said in his closet with a contemptuous sneer, "And if he dies well, what will *you* say then?" It was applied so *ad hominem*, that the King interpreted it as a reflection on his own courage. The admiralty thus pushed, and weighing on one hand the unpopularity of a direct refusal to sign, and on the other the authority of the judges, which had been given at their request, determined to comply. That very night Lord Temple, Dr. Hay, and Elliot, signed the sentence, and sent it to Portsmouth, ordering execution on the 28th. Admiral Forbes, in every part of his conduct uniformly amiable and upright, refused peremptorily to sign it.

1757. February. The admiralty sign the sentence.

While Mr. Byng was thus pursued or given up by his countrymen, our enemies acted a very different part. Voltaire hearing of the admiral's trial, sent from Swisserland to the court-martial a letter which he had casually received some time before from Marshal Richelieu, in which the latter spoke with encomiums on the behaviour of the English commander: —but they, who had been so ready to censure Mr. Byng on the dispatch of his antagonist La Galissoniere, were far from being equally forward to give any weight to Richelieu's testimonial in his favour.

Feb. 17th.—Mr. Hunter, of the admiralty, notified to the

1757. February. The sentence notified to the House of Commons.

House of Commons the sentence pronounced against one of their members. The Speaker produced a long roll of precedents for expelling him before execution, lest his disgrace should reflect on the house. Lord Strange objected, good-naturedly, that this would be heaping cruelty, and seemed to exclude mercy, while yet there was an opening to it. Sir Francis Dashwood, a man distinguished by no milkiness of temper, connected with no friends of the prisoner, took this up strongly, and moved to call for the letter of the court-martial. Fox objected, that this would look like a censure on that court. Sir Francis denied that he meaned it in that light. His view, he said, was, by considering the warmth of their recommendation, to lead to some application for mercy. Mr. Pitt seemed to favour that purpose, and lashed *novel* proceedings in courts-martial; and said he hoped that the letter, when produced, might lead the house to do something on that mortal twelfth article: and he mentioned with disdain anonymous letters that he had received, threatning him as a favorer of Mr. Byng. Fox, to wave all humane impressions, called for the order of the day. Sir Francis would have renewed his motion, but the house did not seem inclined to receive it; and it was lost.

Mr. Pitt demands money for Hanover.

Mr. Pitt had come that very day to the House of Commons for the first time since his illness, and as it was the first time since he was minister of his acting there in office, it could not fail of being remarked, that he dated his administration with a demand of money for Hanover. He delivered a mes-

sage from the King, desiring support for his electoral dominions and for the King of Prussia. One cannot say which was most ridiculous, the richest Prince in Europe begging alms for his own country, or the great foe of that country becoming its mendicant almoner. The next day he opened the message, the purport of which was to ask 200,000*l.*; and he endeavoured to torture some consistence out of his conduct, sometimes refining, and when that would not do, glossing it over with what he would have put off for confident honesty. He succeeded better in attempting to divert reflections from himself to the Empress-queen, who, he said, if it had not been for the blood and treasure of Britain, would not have had it in her power to be ungratefull now. He was seconded by Lord George Sackville, who affected to say he spoke only for form; yet talked forcibly on his *now* seeing a prospect of carrying on the war with success, as great part of the money was to be given to the King of Prussia—a better method than subsidiary treaties. Fox acted moderation; said, he should never provoke altercations, nor yet would ever decline them: it was sufficient to him that his part had been a *consistent* one. He had been told, indeed, that the German measures of last year would be a mill-stone about the neck of the minister:—he hoped *this German* measure would be an ornament about the minister's neck! It was in truth the greatest instance of courage and capacity, and promised stability to Mr. Pitt's administration. Pitt replied, that he only rose again to show he would keep his temper and his word; though Mr. Fox's reflections were

1757. February. 'Mr. Pitt demands money for Hanover.'

1757. February. but an ugly presage of his kind wishes to the new administration. For minister—the word never belonged so little to any body as to himself: he had neither ministerial power nor influence. All he had done, was, having had an opportunity of saying, "This I will do—that I will never do." The money was granted *nemine contradicente*—even the Tories agreeing to it—I suppose, to prove their consistence too.

Lord G. Sackville declares for Pitt.

One event in this debate requires a comment: Lord George Sackville declared himself for Mr. Pitt: he had seemed before to attach himself to Fox. This was the history of his variation: the primate had come over to offer his service to the new lord lieutenant; and both he and Lord George had paid court to Mr. Fox, and still more to Mr. Rigby, the Duke of Bedford's minister. The two former had received their assiduities cordially; Bedford himself, of a shy, uncommunicative nature, had treated the primate with obstinate coldness, and absolutely declined on every occasion to talk to him on Irish business. The duke's own plan was to steer impartially between the two factions; at least for his first session. Fox, early in the winter, had made great application to Lord George Sackville to move for retaining the Hessians, which being agreeable to the wishes of the Whigs, the new ministers would have been beaten before they could bring on any of their popular questions. Lord George demanded previously that the Duke of Bedford should engage to leave the primate one of the lords justices; which would have been granted, but the Duke of Bedford himself hung off; for though he was willing to leave

him so, he would not date his government with a promise that he thought would be so unpopular. From that time, Fox had either not fixed what should be the Duke of Bedford's plan, or had been so occupied with his own situation and animosities, as not sufficiently to attend to Ireland. Rigby, devoted to Fox, and thinking himself sure of the primate whenever he should please to want him, or concluding him totally fallen, and that his own best art of pleasing Fox would be to fling himself into the opposite faction, headed by Lord Kildare, who had married the sister of Lady Caroline Fox; for these, or some of these reasons, he had not had the precaution to model his master to the primate's views; who finding himself rejected, or entertained so as to be rejected afterwards, instantly negotiated with Pitt, and worked his friend Lord George to list under the same colours: and other reasons concurred to facilitate that connection. Pitt, on the commencement of his ministry, had professed to adhere to all his old declarations; and keeping himself retired and secluded from all access, affected to attract no dependents, to form no party. The Tories, who heard his professions, and saw him condescend to no court-arts, were charmed with a minister who seemed as visionary as themselves, and who threw as many difficulties on government as when he was in opposition;—but the Tories alone, as Lord George knew, could no more support a minister, than they could demolish one; and deeming Mr. Pitt's system too romantic for duration, Lord George had leaned towards Fox, as made up of more practicable elements.

1757. February. 'Motives of Lord G. Sackville.'

1757. Indeed, when Bedford proved as untamed as Pitt had been; and when Pitt condescended to make room in his virtue for Hanover, Lord George (as the primate with wonderfull frankness avowed to Fox), finding that Mr. Pitt "would now pursue human measures by human means," made no difficulty of uniting with him. Lord George gave the same account to Fox too. Another reason of mortal complexion had probably some sway with Lord George—of nothing he was so jealous as of Conway. Fox had supported the latter's plan of militia; and the Duke of Richmond, brother of Lady Caroline Fox, was on the point of marrying Lady Mary Bruce, daughter-in-law of Mr. Conway. If Lord George then looked on the connection of Fox and Conway, as imminent and certain, no wonder he devoted himself to the contrary faction.

'Approaching execution of Byng.' As the day approached for the execution of the admiral, symptoms of an extraordinary nature discovered themselves. Lord Hardwicke had forgot to make the clergy declare murder innocent, as the lawyers had been induced to find law in what no man else could find sense. Lord Anson himself, in midnight fits of weakness and wine, held forth at Arthur's on his anxiety to have Mr. Byng spared; and even went so far as to break forth abruptly to Lord Halifax, the admiral's relation by marriage, "Good God! my lord, what shall we do to save poor Mr. Byng?" The earl replied, "My lord, if you really mean it, no man can do so much towards it as yourself." Keppel, a friend of Anson, and one of the judges, grew restless with remorse. Lest these achs of conscience should be contagious,

the King was plied with antidotes. Papers were posted up with paltry rhimes, saying, 1757. February.

"Hang Byng,
Or take care of your King."

Anonymous letters were sent to terrify him if he pardoned; and, what could not be charged too on mob-libellists, he was threatened, that unless Mr. Byng was shot, the city would refuse to raise the money for Hanover.

22d.—The Militia Bill was considered in the committee. Mr. Conway spoke for an hour very ably, to show how impracticable the plan of Townshend's bill was, how easy of execution his own—and then with modesty withdrew it. The dissenters in some places petitioned against the exercise on Sundays, but their objections were not supported nor regarded. 'House of Commons.'

On the 23d, Keppel, More, and Dennis, three of the court-martial, waited on Lord Temple, and besought him to renew their application to the throne for mercy; and the same day Sir Francis Dashwood acquainted the house that he intended to move a consideration of the twelfth article. He said he had felt great animosity against the unhappy sufferer from the first representations; but his opinion was totally changed by the trial. That at most he could only impute misjudgment to Mr. Byng. To the court-martial he must impute it more strongly, who, he thought, had condemned the admiral unjustly. No willfull error appeared against him. His manœuvre had been applauded: was nothing left to his judgment? Does the twenty-fifth resolution of the court prove that he was 'Sir Francis Dashwood animadverts on Byng's sentence.'

1757. February. 'Debate on Byng's sentence.'

negligent? The French had not waited for him: when they did not, he crouded more sail. The council of war they never mentioned! Did not Mr. West approve the return to Gibraltar? Then, with increase of seriousness, he said, the admiral's blood will lie at the door of those who do not explain what they meaned by their sentence, of which no man else could give an interpretation. And it was the more necessary they should, as they had brought on officers an impossibility of serving under the twelfth article. He reverted to the conduct of the admiral, recapitulated some of the chief passages of the trial, urged that there had been an appearance of judgment in his conduct, which had only been defeated by the ships of the French being cleaner and in better order. One witness had deposed that there appeared no backwardness in the admiral in coming to action—then, for God's sake, of what was he condemned? Not a murmur was heard on his return to Gibraltar. It seems he did not hoist his top-galant sail—*that* was, not doing his utmost! What a gross, shocking mistake of the court-martial, to think that the twelfth article reached to this want of a top-galant sail! The letter to the admiralty he concluded had been laid before his Majesty, where he hoped the great severity of a blundering sentence would be properly considered—for, when it came to be considered and construed, could any man living suppose that the court-martial intended to express any blame but of error of judgment? Sure they were at liberty to explain this! It stood in the law that they might, but they must first be empowered by act of parliament to disclose what had passed amongst

1757. February.

them. He spoke to their feeling, and hoped to hear the opinions of others on this cruel sentence.

'Debate on Byng's sentence.'

Lord Barrington rose, as he said, to speak only to the motion on the twelfth article; and should lay Mr. Byng entirely out of the question, on whose conduct, he, being a landsman, could not form an opinion: whatever favorable circumstances there were in his case, he hoped had been, and would be represented. The article he justified on the necessity that had called for it: the last war had set out with conduct at sea, not very honorable; yet no court-martial would condemn the offenders. This grew to be the universal complaint: it was said, nobody would be hanged but for high treason. In a former war Kirby and Wade had been brought in guilty of disaffection to their admiral, and had sufferred. If the present court-martial misunderstood the article in question, neither could one be framed which they would not misunderstand. He asked if this was a time to relax or enforce discipline? and moved for the order of the day.

Doddington replied, that he had no interest in this question, but as it touched Mr. Byng; in whose cause, national justice, public and private compassion were concerned too. That it was impossible to argue that ambiguities ought not to be cleared up. That for fear of bringing on a question, he would not call for the sentence; but he should be glad to know of what the admiral stood condemned. He *did* know of what he was *not* condemned; and that supported him, as it was what stained neither the soldier nor the subject. *Without doors the*

1757. February. Debate on Byng's sentence.

sentence was thought extremely cruel; and well might people think so, when the judges who pronounced it declared they thought so themselves. Perhaps it might be deemed adviseable not to carry it into execution—it certainly would be mercy to the judges and to the distress of their consciences: nor would clash with the King's promise, who certainly never engaged his royal word to adopt the worst construction of a doubtfull law. He wished to hear something thrown out for compassion.

This humane and pathetic speech—to the shame of our country I may call it this *bold* speech, considering in how unpopular circumstances it was made, was received with an attention and sensibility, which showed that truth and justice had been strangers, [who] to be approved, wanted only to be known.

Lord Strange said, he was at a loss to account for the court-martial being so affected. He thought the article plain enough, and to revise it would be *more absurd than any thing but the sentence.* If the court-martial had done justice, how would it be just to them to alter the article? They had puzzled themselves, and now the house was going to puzzle the service. We had no pretence to retry the cause. (An odd argument, if the court had been puzzled and had given an absurd sentence.) If the members of the court would apply separately for revision, they might. For himself, he could not agree to weaken that article: nor would it, he believed, be to any purpose. He had never seen a sea-sentence that a landsman could

submit to. He wished the officers of the navy were to be tried by a jury. 1757. February.

Campbell, a most humane and honest man, but who had never forgiven Mr. Pitt and the Grenvilles the share they had in overturning Sir Robert Walpole; and who had steadily adhered to Mr. Pelham and Fox, as successors of that minister; could not help saying, that the law declared no execution could follow a marine trial, till the whole proceedings had been laid before the Admiralty. If *they* thought injustice had been done to Mr. Byng, would not *they* make earnest application for mercy?—if they made none, what must be the conclusion? 'Debate on Byng's sentence.'

Beckford scrupled not to say, that the sentence was thought *cruel:* and Pitt, though owning how sensibly he felt the difficulty of speaking on that melancholy occasion, with true spirit avowed himself on the favorable side. The sentence, he said, had undergone discussion: for himself, he could never have agreed to it; but he thought the legislature had nothing to do to advise the King on that his peculiar prerogative, mercy. He did wish it might be extended to the prisoner; and owned he thought *more good would come from mercy than rigour.* That it was more likely to flow from his Majesty, if he was left entirely free. For the article, he did not wish, he said, to see discipline relaxed; but no article could be enforced, but when it was intelligible. And this being proved so obscure, it was not for the honour of national justice, that a sentence, issuing from its obscurity, should be carried into execution. Were Mr. Byng condemned of cowardice or disaffection, he himself,

1757. February. 'Debate on Byng's sentence.'

though single, would petition for execution. Of all men, the commissioners of the Admiralty ought the least to interpose. But what indeed could add weight in the prisoner's favour to the recommendation of his judges?

Campbell, pursuing his blow, said, surely they who have all the proofs before them are the properest to enforce the recommendation of the judges.

Sir Francis Dashwood, perceiving an impression of tenderness made, and unwilling to drive a majority to rigour by furnishing them with the triumph of carrying a question, desired leave to withdraw his motion on the article; when Fox, who chose to wear, like the day, an aspect of compassion, and at the same time to fasten difficulty and unpopularity on the new minister and his friends, rose to say, that he could not comprehend the delicacy of the Admiralty in not laying their scruples before the King. That during the nine years that himself had been secretary at war, it had been his constant practice on all courts-martial to acquaint the King with any favorable circumstances that had appeared. That he had always found his Majesty disposed to lenity, and when he said nothing, the King would ask, "Have you nothing favorable to tell me?" Silence always implied that there was nothing. If the lords of the Admiralty thought the court-martial meaned *error of judgment*, they ought to tell the King so. Any one lord of the Admiralty might; Admiral Forbes might. That in signing the warrant, never till now had been used the words, "It is His Majesty's pleasure." He recommended

it to them to consider the circumstances, and inform the King of them. 1757. February.

Pitt, in reply, bad him consider all that had passed for the last six months, and then judge if the lords of the Admiralty were the proper persons to make representations on this case. He had no reason to expect any tenderness to himself or his friends; and indeed he supposed this speech of Fox was calculated to throw them under difficulties *in another place.* For himself, he had too much awe on his mind, to make so free with descriptions, as Fox had of personal colloquies. 'Debate on Byng's sentence.'

Fox repeated, that this had been a very undue time to change the words, "the King's consent," to "the King's pleasure." In all late instances *pleasure* had never been used. That in what he had said, he had intended to agree with Mr. Pitt. On the present occasion he thought it particularly the duty of the Admiralty to speak out. And as to throwing them under difficulties, the more danger there would be in their speaking out, the more it was their duty. And to Mr. Pitt's complaint of want of credit in the closet, he said, there never wanted a grain of ministerial influence to incline his Majesty to pardon.

Pitt asked, how Mr. Fox knew what might have passed on this occasion, when not an iota had transpired?—his insinuations had been uncandid, nor had he egged Fox on to say what had fallen from him.—The Speaker interposed; said, he disapproved these altercations, and begged they would only speak on what concerned the public. Hunter and Elliot produced

1757. February. 'Debate on Byng's sentence.'

precedents to show they had taken the word *pleasure* from the minutes in the books of the Admiralty: Prince George had particularly notified Queen Anne's *pleasure* on Kirby and Wade. And the latter dropped, that it was decided by political writers, that in general commanders in chief should not be tried but for treachery. Lord Strange spoke to order, and to have the question read, that these discussions might be finished. The day concluded with Fox's saying with great solemnity, that he had not said, and he thanked God had not heard, a word to exclude mercy—An asseveration he had better not have made—He had fastened the duty of representation on the Admiralty: if they applied for mercy, the odium would be theirs. If they did not, the King remained in possession of pleading, that as the Admiralty had made no application for mercy, after being publicly exhorted to it, it was evident that they had no favorable circumstances to represent.

Some applications to the King for mercy.'

The next day Pitt did move the King for mercy, but was cut very short—nor did his Majesty remember to ask his *usual* question, *whether there were any favorable circumstances?* The Duke of Bedford, whose good heart broke from his connections, applied too, was better heard, but with no better success. Mrs. Osborn, the admiral's sister, being advised to sollicit the same duke to present a petition from her, he excused himself, nor in all the openings to compassion that followed did his grace take the least part; though he had been one of the most vehement to condemn the court-martial.

He was always allowed by his governors to speak as he thought —seldom to act as he spoke. The same day seven of the court-martial applied to Lord Temple to intercede for mercy: he reported their sollicitation to the King; but to no purpose. 1757. February.

25th.—Admiral Norris went to George Grenville, and told him he had something on his conscience which he wanted to utter, and desired Mr. Grenville to apply to the House of Commons to absolve them from their oath of secrecy. Grenville did not care to meddle in it. Norris, Keppel, and Moore, mentioned it again to him at the Admiralty that morning; and he declining it, Moore said to him with warmth, "Then, sir, the admiral's blood will not lie on us." It happened that Horace Walpole, who had taken this affair much to heart, was not then in parliament, having vacated his seat for Castlerising, that he might be chosen at Lynn, by desire of the corporation, in the room of his cousin, become a peer by the death of his father, Lord Walpole. Coming late that day to the house, though not a member, Horace Walpole was told of the application that had been made to Mr. Grenville, and looking for him to try to engage him to undertake the cause, Walpole was told that Mr. Keppel desired to be absolved from his oath as well as Norris. Walpole ran up into the gallery, and asked Keppel if it was true? and being true, why he did not move the house himself? Keppel replied, that he was unused to speak in public, but would willingly authorize any body to make the application for him. "Oh! sir," said Walpole, "I will soon find you somebody;" and hurried him to Fox,

'Members of court-martial desirous to be absolved from their oaths.'

'Author urges Keppel to apply to House of Commons.'

1757. February. 'Author promotes an application to House of Commons.'

who, Walpole fondly imagined, could not in decency refuse such a request, and who was the more proper from his authority in the house, and as a relation of Mr. Keppel. Fox was much surprized, knew not what to determine, said he was uncertain —and left the house. The time pressed, the Speaker was going to put the question for the orders of the day, after which no new motion can be made; it was Friday too; the house would sit neither on Saturday nor Sunday, and but a possibility of two days remained to intercept the execution, which was to be on Monday; and the whole operation of what Keppel should have to say, its effects, the pardon if procured, the dispatch to Portsmouth, and the reprieve, all to be crouded into so few hours! Walpole was in agony what step to take—at that instant he saw Sir Francis Dashwood going up the house; he flew down from the gallery, called Sir Francis, hurried the notification to him, and Sir Francis, with the greatest quickness of tender apprehension (the Speaker had actually read the question and put it while all this was passing) called out from the floor before he had time to take his place, "Mr. Speaker"—and then informed the house of Mr. Keppel's desire that some method might be found of empowering him and the other members of the court-martial to declare what had been their intention in pronouncing Mr. Byng guilty. Sir John Philipps opposed the motion, saying, the cause was not before the house. George Townshend approved the question, saying, he seconded it, not pleading so much for mercy to the prisoner, as to his judges. Pitt

'Sir Francis Dashwood applies for Mr. Keppel.'

rose, and begged the house would consider seriously before they proceeded on so nice a matter: he wished first to see a direct application to the house. For himself, he should probably smart for it; he had received a menacing letter that very morning. He addressed himself to Keppel, wished he would break through his bashfullness and rise: it would be a foundation to him to vote for the bill demanded; and then he should despise threats. Keppel rose. Dennis, a member of the court-martial, and of parliament, was present, but had refused to join with Keppel in the application. The latter spoke with great sense and seriousness; declared, he did desire to be absolved from his oath; he had something on his mind that he wished to say. Many others of the court-martial, he said, had been with him that morning, and exhorted him to make the demand. Sir Richard Lyttelton said, another had been with him to the same end; and read a letter from the president, Admiral Smith, entreating him to move in the same cause. He then injudiciously went into the case of Mr. Byng, which, he said, he should think murder, if this method was not followed. Ellis had difficulties, he said; it ought to be known if the whole body desired this. It ought to be considered, that their opinions had been given in confidence of secrecy. Sir R. Lyttelton replied, Admiral Smith says they are all willing to be dispensed from their oath. Lord Strange said, he had always been averse to meddling with Mr. Byng's cause in parliament, yet it was very difficult to avoid it now the judges themselves desired it. To refuse this dispensation to them would be a

1757. February. 'Keppel's application to House of Commons.'

1757. February. 'Debate on Keppel's application.'

cruelty his blood ran cold at. Then the oath of secrecy being read, Thornbagh, a foolish man, who knew to do nothing but what he had sometimes seen done, moved for the orders of the day. Sir Francis Dashwood reprimanded him severely; and the house behaved with great decency: the Duke of Newcastle's faction with total silence. Campbell, whose natural goodness could not on a surprize prefer the wrong side to the tender one, said, he rose for fear of being included in his opinion of the other day. He thought the bill so necessary now, that he wished to have it read three times directly. George Grenville thought the members of the court-martial might speak without the bill, as their oath only forbad them to divulge the opinion of any single man. Lord George Sackville was of the same opinion, and wished what had passed might be communicated to his Majesty without any address in form. Keppel professed he had still doubts whether he could speak without a dispensing act. Mr. Conway agreed with Lord George, and thought that such members of the court-martial as were in town ought to have a day to consider on it. Pitt said, he honoured Mr. Keppel for his doubt; wished him to consult with his friends that night; and told him, that in regard to them the house would sit the next day. For himself, he should in their case have no hesitation to speak without the act, as they only desired to tell where it was most proper for them to tell: he hoped they would lay their sentiments at his Majesty's feet the next morning. Some other opinions of no consequence following, Lord George

Sackville begged the debate might end, that Mr. Keppel might go immediately and consult his friends. Sir Francis Dashwood said they were not all in town; Mr. Keppel hoped if the major part were, it would be sufficient. The Speaker proposed that nothing of what had passed should be inserted in the votes. 1757. February.

26th.—A cabinet-council was held to consider what was proper to be done on Mr. Keppel's demand. Pitt told the King, that the House of Commons wished to have the admiral pardoned. He replied shrewdly and severely, "Sir, *you* have taught me to look for the sense of my subjects in another place than in the House of Commons."—However, it was determined that sentence should be respited for a fortnight, till the bill could be passed, and his Majesty acquainted with what the members of the court-martial had to say. A temporary reprieve was accordingly dispatched to Portsmouth; and Mr. Pitt the same day delivered a message to the House of Commons, that his Majesty having been informed that a member of that house had in his place declared that he had something of weight to say, which it was proper his Majesty should know, his Majesty had accordingly postponed execution till the matter could be cleared up. It had been objected in council, that the words *member in his place* would give offence, as unusual and inconsistent with the liberty of speech in parliament, the crown being supposed to have no knowledge or cognizance of what is said there. Pitt treated the objection with scorn; and, unluckily, commenced his administration

'Keppel's application considered in cabinet.'

'King's message on respiting Byng.'

1757. February. with a German subsidy and a breach of privilege. Fox had immediate notice by Rigby from the Duke of Bedford of what had passed in council, and came armed to attack Pitt on this indiscretion. Pitt had no sooner delivered the royal message, than Fox rose cavilling. He desired to have the message read again:—there were words in it that struck his ear in a very extraordinary manner! *The King having been informed that a member in his place!* Who informed him? Who betrayed to the crown what was said in parliament? What minister was so ignorant as to advise the crown to take notice of having had such intelligence? Did ministers dare to avow that they made representations of the speeches of particular men? Indeed it had now been done for a laudable purpose; but by the same rule might be practiced for a bad one; and on no account must be sufferred to strengthen into a precedent. He desired to be showed one instance since the reign of James the First, where the privileges of parliament had been so sported with.

'Breach of privilege in King's message.'

Pitt replied with great indignation, that the time had been too pressing to consult precedents. He had not thought the life of a man was to be trifled with while clerks were searching records. He had founded himself on a peculiarity of case, that was its own precedent, and could be so to no other: a precedent that could never be extended but by a wicked parliament. He had been doing his duty in parliament the day before, had heard the momentous doubts of Mr. Keppel, and had represented them:—*he should have been ashamed to run away basely*

and timidly, and hide his head, as if he had murdered somebody under a hedge. It had been the sense of the house, that what had passed should be laid before his Majesty; and he had accordingly thought it *his* duty to represent it. What would Mr. Fox have done? *not* have represented it? You, sir, said he, to the chair, may enter it with proper caution. He appealed to the house, if what he had done had not been directly implied; and concluded, he was ready to undergo the correction of the house.

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Fox replied with as much temper as the occasion seemed to call for resentment (but it is not always true that one is most angry when one is most in the wrong), that he did not think his observation had been indecent. That he would now say nothing to Mr. Pitt's charge, but would prove his own conduct good-natured. Had he said some things that Mr. Pitt had said, he should have thought his nature base. It had not been necessary to express *a member of the house in his place.* Yet if the Speaker could think of any palliative way of entering it in the journals, he should never think of it more.

Pitt said, the manner had been chosen to show the public that every method had been taken to ease the mind of his Majesty: and Lord Strange bore him testimony, that the communication had been intended by the house: and however parliament would take it, he knew it was manly and right.

Mr. Keppel then said, that the definitions given the day before of the oath had engaged his utmost attention: and he had represented as well as he could to some of his brethren

1757. February. 'Breach of privilege in King's message.'

what latitude it had been thought they might take in dispensing with it: but they were not altered in the least, and till an absolying act should pass, could say nothing.

Do they still desire the act? said Lord Strange. Could any body, replied Keppel, mention what weight they had on their minds, and not desire it still?

The Speaker then, trimming between Pitt and Fox, declared himself extremely hurt with the words, pronounced them wrong, and of most dangerous consequence, and what had always been reckoned breaches of privilege:—he was satisfied there had been no bad intention in it. He knew Mr. Pitt would as soon lose his hand, as violate the rights of parliament—indeed, there had been no necessity for the words in question; the message might have been worded differently; but he would pawn his soul there had been no wrong design in it. It might be entered, observing that objections had been made to the offensive phrase; the necessity of which might be stated too. For Mr. Fox, he had done his duty, and himself would do public right to him. I did the same justice to Mr. Pitt, said Fox. General Conway agreed that there had been little occasion to describe so particularly what had passed: and he asked whether it was necessary to enter the whole of the message. The house, said the Speaker, may enter what it pleases; but it is a message sent solemnly by the King, and I never knew an instance of overlooking it. George Grenville went farther, and said, he would never consent to have it entered defectively. Beckford called the bill so unpopular a

measure, that he wished to have it imputed to the House of Commons, not to the King, who, he desired it might be reported, had yielded to it unwillingly, and only for the sake of justice: Pitt he commended. Sir Francis Dashwood, with much more sincerity, said he was glad of the bill, come how it would. It was gracious of the King to give room for it, and wise of his ministers. Fox asked, now the respite was granted, whether it were not better to wait for a petition from the court-martial before the bill was passed? better to wait at least till Monday for some material information, which might be hinted in the petition. Sir Francis replied, that the very words of the message from the crown were, that a respite was granted *till* the bill should pass. Would it be decent, after such a message, to say we will postpone the bill however, till the court-martial petitions? If six only of the thirteen should desire the bill, would you not grant it? The house cried, "No, no!"—as if it was justice due to the consciences of an indefinite, and not of a determined number!

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Nugent said, his constant opinion had been, that the admiral was sentenced for error of judgment only; and the oath he thought only a conditional one.

Fox, after refining much on the oath, said, it was impossible but at the desire of the *whole* number, to permit some to disclose the opinions of others. Each man might tell his own motives. At least, let the desires of the majority be taken. He then asked, if it was proper that a set of judges should go about for three weeks, *hearing sollicitations from the friends of*

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the prisoner, and then come and complain of their own sentence? For his part, his feeling sometimes operated upon his reason, and he supposed, did on that of others. See, then, whither sollicitation and bribery might go. The King desires to have his doubts cleared up—*but don't let this bill go immediately to pardon.* Give way to the bill—what was to follow would be a subsequent consideration. The court had gone no farther than to acquit the admiral of cowardice. He hoped the parliament would ask the King for the examination, either to rescind the sentence, or *to order a new trial.* He had not, he said, run away basely the day before, but from his judgment: Mr. Keppel had told him what he meaned to do. He did not think himself necessary to every council, and had foreseen what confusion would follow. He had not voted against the bill, and said, "Let Mr. Byng die on Monday." He *had* gone away, his compassion strugling with his reason. On consideration, he had returned like a man to the hard part. If the King had felt, was it not proper he should feel too? He begged care might be taken not to establish this measure for a precedent; nor could it be reasonable to frame a new article of war, because the court-martial had not understood the present. He should be for the bill, though he would not (like Mr. Pitt), declare that most good would follow from pardon. Hearing a great minister say so, he thought pardon was determined. Yet, for himself, he should have left the merit of it to the King's mercy—*but now it was the act of the minister.* He still wished to see more grounds for the bill.

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He would not require any of the members of the court, he would only enable such as thought fit, to discover what had passed. Something extraordinary he would have conclude this extraordinary act.

The art and abilities of this speech are evident: it will be much more difficult to discover in it *the good-nature* he had promised to display.

Nugent expressed his disapprobation of *two* trials. Pitt declared he would speak very shortly and clearly; sometimes, he owned, he did speak too warmly. He gave much commendation to Mr. Fox's speech, though he did not foresee the same consequences; nor would he decide, whether in the present instance Fox's reason or good-nature had got the better. He defended Mr. Keppel's behaviour, which had sprung from former proceedings, not from sollicitation. [For] himself, [he] did not wish the admiral saved out of compassion, but out of justice: for how, said he, can it be for my interest to take the part I now do?—I look only at the sentence. Is it so necessary that he should be executed just now? On the other hand, he would not give time for the court-martial to be tampered with. Like Fox, he had wished for better grounds; but when Mr. Keppel rose and pronounced what he did, it was irresistible. It became the unanimous opinion of the house to yield to his emotions. Some even would have passed the bill that very day. Nor had any thing ever come before parliament that almost commanded such rapidity. Ought not, said he, Mr. Byng, ought not his family to be put out of

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that cruel situation? ought not the King? ought not the court-martial, some of whom were on the point of sailing to America? Why hang this matter up for some days, in which the fate of the nation might be decided? There was nothing of party in this—any number that were willing to tell, ought to be heard: might not they want to say that they had thought themselves bound to find error of judgment capital? To them he would have the article explained. He feared, if this was pending too long, it might produce riots.

Henley, the attorney-general, endeavoured still to show that the bill was unnecessary, and that the members might dispense with their oath. He suggested that the bill might be rejected in the other house; and asked, who was to examine the members of the court-martial.

Doddington said, he had sought compassion and relief—had found compassion even when *he* called; but relief could only come constitutionally through justice. The court-martial indeed did at last perceive that they might have been mistaken. Were he in their place, he should not have waited for a bill—he should have thought a life was to be saved at any rate.

Legge declared himself free from any bias one way or other. Had Mr. Byng been found guilty, nobody would be more ready to condemn him: but it appeared that *he was only a sacrifice to discipline;* and we must not imagine that we should draw down blessings on our fleets by human sacrifices. He begged that, by adhering to the letter of this

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article, demonstrated to be both obscure and severe, they would not prevent courts-martial from bringing in nobody guilty.

Martin proposed that the members of the court should be asked directly, if they had meant error of judgment: and then, if they thought error of judgment capital.

'Bill to release court-martial from oath.'

Lord George Sackville begged the debate might finish, as the longer the question was agitated, the more difficulties would be started. Potter accordingly brought in the bill, and it was read the first time. Fox then asked Mr. Keppel, which of his associates had empowered him to make the demand? He named, *Holmes*, *Norris*, *Geary*, and *Moore*. Fox said he asked this, because it was reported that none of the members desired to be absolved from their oath. The bill was read the second time. Fox said, the King's message prescribed a separate examination on oath; he hoped that direction would be observed. Potter moved to proceed to the committee on the bill. Lord Strange and Haldane objected; but Pitt asking if they wished to detain Holbourn, Broderick, and Holmes at home at so critical a time; and how they could proceed on Monday, if the difficulties were not then stated in the committee; it was agreed that the committee should immediately sit; and Fox said, that now it was agreed to have the bill, the sooner it should pass the better. He moved, and was seconded by Pitt, that the members of the court-martial should be examined on oath. It was then settled that they were to disclose what they had to say only to the King and council: that they should only tell the motives

1757. February. of their own behaviour, not those of others. George Grenville added a clause, that they should not be obliged to speak, if not willing. The bill went through the committee, and was ordered to be reported on Monday.

'Sensations excited by proceedings in House of Commons.' It may easily be imagined what variety of passions were excited by this extraordinary affair. Curiosity to know what black management had left such * scruples on the minds of some of the judges of the court-martial, was the common and natural consequence: the very novelty of tools of power sinking under a consciousness of guilt, or under the conviction of having unwittingly been made the tools of power, was sufficient to raise the utmost attention. The few poor well-wishers of the condemned saw a gleam of truth darting upon a prison which they had scarce ventured to incur the odium of approaching—and if there had been such black management (a question scarce admitting an *if*, considering all that had preceded and all that followed) the actors in so dark a tragedy undoubtedly did not feel the most pleasing sensations from the illustration that now seemed unavoidable. The latter description of men appeared to be in danger of changing unpopular situations with the admiral—they were soon the only satisfied class, the only triumphant—for by the very next day after the bill had been read in the House of Commons, by Sunday evening, it was blazed over the town, that the four sea-officers named by Mr. Keppel, disclaimed him, and denied

* I do not mean to say that none of the judges on the court-martial had really been convinced that by the severity of the law they could not acquit the admiral, though they thought him guilty of only a momentary error of judgment.

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'Holmes and Geary disavow Keppel.'

having empowered him to apply in their names. Mr. Pitt was thunderstruck—and well he might: he saw what consequences Fox would draw from this disavowal. Enquiry was made into the truth of the report. Holmes and Geary persisted that they had not commissioned Keppel. Sir Richard Lyttelton, an intimate friend of the latter, applied to him, and, as Sir Richard himself told me within an hour after he had seen Geary, begging him to consider the injustice and dishonorableness of retracting what he had authorized Keppel to say; he replied in these very words, "*It will hurt my preferment to tell.*" Can I pass over these words cursorily?—or rather, do they want a comment? What dissertation could express more fully than they do themselves all they contained? Who had power to stop a sea-officer's preferment? would it hurt his preferment to tell what affected no * powerfull man with guilt? Did those words imply that he had nothing to tell?—as thick a veil as was drawn over the particulars of this transaction, can it be doubted but that particulars there were of a heinous dye? And though Mr. Keppel's scruples were treated as idle, though it was asserted that he had nothing to tell, though he saw Mr. Byng die, without telling; did not that attention of Geary to his interest supply articulation to Mr.

* I say, *powerfull man*, not *man in power*, for Lord Hardwicke, Lord Anson, the Duke of Newcastle, &c. were not then in place—but them Geary must have meant, for he could not fear disobliging Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple by speaking out, when it was his silence that prejudiced them. It was plain Geary thought, what happened so soon afterwards, that the command of the Admiralty would still be in Lord Anson.

1757. February. Keppel's conscience?—a fact that I shall mention presently, when the father * of the man whose power Geary dreaded, asked for a day of peculiar significance, will explain and cannot in the nature of things be disjoined from that sagacious captain's conception of what interests were concerned to impose silence on the court-martial.

'Further debate on court-martial bill.' Monday, 28th.—The bill was reported, and Potter moved to have it read the third time; when Fox rising, said, he heard some information was going to be given, which ought to precede any progress in the bill. Holmes, a brother of one of the four, said, he had heard something had passed on Saturday, which he supposed the gentleman that had occasioned it would stand up and explain. Keppel rose, and said, he had particularized the names of four, who he understood and did believe had commissioned him to move the house on their behalf. That Holmes had said, "Sure you mistook me!" Another of them said the same. He argued it with them; they persisted, and said he had mistaken: Holmes adding, "I am easy in my mind, and desire to say nothing farther." That he believed it would be useless to call Mr. Holmes. That for Geary, he was not absolutely off nor on, but should have no objection to speak, if all were compelled. For the other two, Norris and Moore, they were desirous to abide by what they had said; that they had even written him a letter, in which they said, "The world says we have varied, but we desire to

* [Lord Hardwicke. Lord Anson had married his daughter. It must, however, be admitted, that our author's language in this passage is as obscure as his reasoning is unfair and inconclusive. E.]

adhere to what we told you." He read their letter, in which were these words: "We do authorize you to sollicit for the bill." For himself, he thought his honour clear: when he had first spoken, it was from the uneasiness of his mind. He was told his oath did not bind him: he thought it did. If the house would think fit to relieve him, he should be glad. When he signed the sentence, he thought he did right—he had since been startled at what he had done.

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Thus, of the four named, two adhered: one (Geary) did not prove that Keppel mistook him. Whether he mistook Holmes must remain a doubt—it is scarce probable that Holmes had been very positive against the measure: Keppel would scarce have named a man, who was far from agreeing with him. That it will remain a doubt too, whether there had not been unwarrantable practices in, or even with the court-martial, is the fault of those who stifled conscientious evidence. Charity itself would grow suspicious, had it observed all I observed; and yet I give but as suspicions what I do not know was fact. That some wished for time to practise afterwards on the court-martial; that Geary was willing to be practised on; and that some *were* practised on before they appeared in the House of Lords, can, I think, never be a doubt more.

Fox assured Mr. Keppel that his character was not affected by what Holmes and Geary had said: the bill indeed was affected by it: yet what he would have done for five, he would do for three; that is, if the three would petition for it. Of

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the court-martial seven, he observed, were in town. Of them, Holbourn had declined to meddle; Dennis had withdrawn from the house; Holmes declared himself easy in his mind; Geary had desired not to speak, unless the whole number did. Thus a majority of those in town did not approve the bill. He therefore desired that the three willing ones would sign a petition, saying, in their opinions they had something to tell material for the King's information. If it was not material enough to have the sentence reversed, but only that they might explain their own motives, he should not think the bill necessary.

Nugent said, though not one should apply, the absurdity of the sentence was glaring enough to call for the bill. Fox interrupted him, speaking to order—the sentence was not before the house. Nugent replied, every man in the house had read the sentence—could they, who, in conscience, honour, and justice, had signed the letter for mercy, refuse to speak if their mouths were opened? Fox said, the sentence and letter ought first to be called for. The sentence was on bath, the letter not. He affirmed he did not believe they had any thing material to say. Would Mr. Keppel say he thought it material?

Velters Cornwall condemned the bill, and said, Mr. Byng had undone one ministry, was going to undo another: the King had been advised ignobly and unwisely.

Colonel John Fitzwilliam, who had never opened before in parliament, came with much importance and a list of questions

Lord Chief Justice Mansfield

W. Murray

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to examine Mr. Keppel; but they were so absurd and indecent, that at every one the house expressed their disgust by a groan—such were, "Had he not voted Mr. Byng to be shot because he thought he deserved it? Did he not think so still? Would his conscience be easier after he had spoken?" —It is sufficient to say of this man, that his character was hatefull. In the army he was odious as a spy and creature of the Duke. That very morning he had passed two hours with Mr. Keppel, labouring to divert him from his purpose. Stanley severely censured Fitzwilliam, observing that he had put many questions to Keppel, which he was under oath not to discover, and from which this bill was calculated to absolve him: and he took notice sensibly (of what seemed to have been totally overlooked), that *any man who is to die, has at least a right to know for what he is to die.* Fox urged, that the words of the royal message were, "because their discovery may show the sentence to be improper." From Mr. Keppel's present silence, he inferred that there was nothing material to be discovered. He moved to call Norris and Moore, to hear if what they had to say would affect the sentence. But Sir Francis Dashwood objected, that this was the very question which the house was passing the bill in order to have answered. Mr. Keppel (who Mr. Fox might have suspected had had other sollicitations than from the *relations* of the admiral), rose, and said, he would explain himself as fully as he could:—when he signed, he thought he did right—he would go farther—no, he had better not—had uneasiness, or would never have signed the

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letter of intercession—the explanation of the article has increased his inquietude—he had rather it should be thought poor weakness, than a desire of giving trouble. He concluded with these words: "*I do think my desire of being at liberty does imply something great, and what his Majesty should know.*" The house was struck:—Fox said, I am satisfied. Afterwards I shall propose means to prevent such bills for the future.

Charles Townshend, who had taken no part hitherto, and who had followed Mr. Pitt into a system built on the ruin of Mr. Fox, said, to the surprize of every body, that he had intended to second Fox, but was content too. He congratulated the house on obtaining these grounds for their proceedings by Mr. Fox's means. His brother, offended at this wonderfull declaration, told him, if he had been present the first day, he would not have wanted those grounds. Charles appealed to the house, if first, second, or third day, they had been so fully explained. Pitt, still more provoked, said, with the utmost contempt, and with the most marked accent, no man of common sense or common integrity could say this matter had been opened on any other foundation—yet he wished Charles Townshend joy that *his conscience* was made easy. But how did it appear that the King was so misinformed? May I, added Pitt, fall when I refuse pity to such a suit as Mr. Keppel's, justifying a man who lies in captivity and the shadow of death! I thank God, I feel something more than popularity; I feel justice! The message, he owned, had been

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disorderly, and he was under correction for it, yet it was strict truth. For this attack, it went to the very veracity of a man: but he did not, like Fox and Townshend, go upon hearsay. For his part, if his country were safe that day twelvemonth, he should pray that Mr. Fox might be in his place, nor would he use those miserable arts that are employed to prop a wretched station. He congratulated the house on that act of necessary justice. His equal wish was, that Mr. Byng might live or die to the satisfaction of the nation.

Fox, sneering and insulting, said, he was glad Mr. Pitt had heard commendations of him from Mr. Charles Townshend* —indeed they had a little ruffled Mr. Pitt's temper. By his wishing to continue in the administration for a twelvemonth, he seemed to think he *could* save this country. For himself, he had not been driven out; he had had reasons for retiring. Since, had he obstructed any public measure? Had *he*, *totidem verbis*, *proposed* some questions that had been *opposed* last year, they would have been opposed again: he had chosen rather to retire; and in the distressed situation of his country, would not oppose; unless he saw measures carried on destructive to England, or distressfull to his Majesty. His own consistence should be *litteral*, lest afterwards he should not have parts enough to show it was *substantial*—indeed, he had never understood a court.

The Speaker observed, that two-thirds of what both had

* Mr. Pitt, loud enough to be heard by half the house, cried out, "I wish you joy of him."

1757. February. said, was nothing to the question. Pitt replied, that he was surprized at being coupled with Mr. Fox, who had spoken five times, he but once—yet Fox had not been suppressed. Could I, said he, sit silent under the accusation of misinforming the King? The Speaker vindicated himself, talked of his unbiassed impartiality and integrity; and the bill passed, Cornwall dividing the house with 22 more against 153; and it was sent to the Lords.

'Court-martial bill passes House of Commons.'

March. 'Debate in Lords.'

March 1st.—The Lords read the bill. Lord Mansfield treated Keppel's behaviour as weak and inconsistent: made a panegyric on the twelfth article, which he said had restored discipline: censured the House of Commons for precipitate proceedings; and went indecently into the question of the admiral's behaviour; for which he was called to order by Lord Denbigh, who told him, that to evade the pressing arguments that called for the bill, he had endeavoured cruelly to raise indignation against the prisoner, who might receive benefit from the scruples of his judges; whose scruples and request were alone the objects before the house. The chief justice replied, he did not intend to oppose the whole bill—but he must ask, who they were that demanded it? What! a month * after sentence! was what they had to say within the oath of secrecy? Indeed, he had always been against the oath; he never approved judging in a mask. He had heard of a case where a *majority* voted that a sentence should be *unanimous*. He

* A lawyer, it seems, would establish prescription even against conscience!

said, the proviso, empowering only the willing to speak, was partial. If *all* should say they meaned error of judgment, the admiral ought to be acquitted. If the sentence was iniquitous, it ought to be annulled. But it was cruel to fix this examination on the King: the Lords ought to step between the crown and the people. The sentence, he said, could only be annulled by parliament. A bill might be necessary, but one totally different from this. He proposed to have the members of the court-martial called to the bar of the house; and he concluded with no humane observation, nor more to the bill than his former speech, that there had been times when a sea-officer had blown up his ship, rather than be taken or retreat. 1757. March.

As I would by no means blend in one censure the behaviour of the two lawyers, Mansfield and Hardwicke, I will here say a few words on the former. He took a severe part against the persecuted admiral—why, I pretend not to determine. As the death of Mr. Byng tended no ways to his interest, as he had no guilt to expiate by the blood of another, and as friendship infuses humanity, but not cruelty, one should not suppose that Lord Mansfield acted on personal motives, or from a desire of screening Newcastle. I will not even suppose that a propensity to thwarting Pitt dictated his asperity. He saw his country undone; might think Mr. Byng had hastened its fate; might feel a national resentment; might think severity necessary; and as it is observed that timorous natures, like those of women, are generally cruel, Lord Mansfield might easily slide into rigour on this as he did on other occasions, when he was not personally afraid. 'Lord Mansfield.'

1757. March. 'Debate on court-martial bill in Lords.'

Lord Temple gave much the same account that I have given, of his own behaviour, as first lord of the admiralty; he read the letter from the court-martial, and thought that their anxiety must have proceeded from having meant error of judgment.

Lord Halifax spoke strongly for the bill, and urged that it was founded on justice and humanity; condemned the sentence, and said, *it appealed from itself.* That if the judges of that court had thought the admiral really guilty, they had been most guilty to write such a letter. As that could not be the case, could their lordships avoid wishing to have the bottom of such a strange transaction known? He excused the court-martial for having staid so long between their letter and any farther step, because they waited to see what effect, and concluded the effect they promised themselves would follow from their letter. That the sentence could not be annulled without this bill, nor explained without it, for had it been possible for any man, Lord Mansfield would have made sense of it.

Lord Hardwicke pleaded against the bill, upon the single supposition that they were to tell the opinions of each other. He desired that all of them might be ordered to attend, and asked whether these scruples had not flowed from sollicitations, and from being tampered with by the admiral's friends—and he, who said he *wished* to inquire whether they had not been tampered with by the admiral's *friends*—proposed—what? that they should not attend *till* Thursday—it was then Tuesday.

1757. March.

'Debate in Lords on proposal to examine the members of court-martial.'

Lord Granville replied, that they would not speak even there, till their mouths were legally opened. That he had always disapproved the oath of secrecy; and now particularly, when his Majesty and the House of Commons were willing that the oath should be set aside, who could refuse it?

The Duke of Newcastle, as usual, echoed his oracle, and wished to have all the lights that could be had in twenty-four hours. The Duke of Bedford asked what objection there was to hearing them the very next day? There could but two questions be asked of them; "Were they willing to speak?" "Had they any thing to say?" Lord Halifax pressed for the next day. Lord Temple defended them from private influence, and proved that their present behaviour was entirely consonant to their sentence and letter. When they found that all the difficulties on their minds, which they had hinted at in their letter, had no effect, could they do otherwise than apply to the legislature to be empowered to set forth their difficulties at large? Lord Sandwich owned, that if he did not think the bill necessary, he would oppose it, because he was astonished to find that an unprecedented message to the Commons was pleaded as a reason for the acquiescence of the Lords. Lord Hardwicke caught up that argument, and said the royal message ought not to be pleaded there, since it had not been *vouchsafed* to *that* house:——I hesitate to repeat the latter part of his speech—will it not be thought that the part I took in this affair influenced me to misrepresent a man, to

1757. March. ‘Debate in Lords on proposal to examine the members of court-martial.’

whose intrigues and authority I cannot help imputing in great measure the admiral's catastrophe? Who, when I paint a shrewd old lawyer, as weakly or audaciously betraying his own dark purposes in so solemn an assembly, but will suspect that I forged an event which seems so strongly to prove all that I have charged on him? In answer to these doubts, I can only say, that *this* was one of the events on which I formed my opinion; that it is strictly true; and that I would not venture to report it, unless it had passed in so solemn and public a place as the House of Lords, where all who there were present heard, and could not but avow that I speak truth—in short, Lord Hardwicke, as a reason for deferring to hear *till Thursday* the members of the court-martial, pleaded that there was an Irish cause depending before the house, which was appointed for the next day (Wednesday).—If ever the least public business that pressed, had not made all law-suits give way, this might have been at least a precedented reason—but what was the bill in question? Certainly in the then situation of affairs of as critical importance, and of as much expectation as had ever engaged the attention of the public—and to want to postpone it to an obscure Irish cause! —Could good-nature in person forbear to surmize, that this demand of an intervening day was, could only be made, to gain time to tamper with the witnesses? Good-nature at least would allow, that who suspects such men as Geary of being tampered with by the poor and powerless relations of a cri-

1757. March. 'Debate in Lords on proposal to examine the members of court-martial.'

minal, might be suspected himself of a disposition to *tamper*, when he had power *, and only wanted time; which too he had the confidence to demand—I say confidence, for Lord Hardwicke said authoritatively, "*I adhere to Thursday.*"—Alas! he did not know how much he could do in half the time.

Lord Denbigh asked with indignation; does that noble lord put in competition with the honour of his country a cause of Irish bankruptcy? And the Duke of Devonshire begged that the court-martial might be heard on the morrow, because some of them were under sailing orders. Lord Hardwicke, unmoved, said, the bill will not be before you to-morrow: the officers in question must be examined separately. Lord Temple replied, that the wind might change by Thursday, and that some of them were going on expeditions of the utmost consequence to this country: he begged their retardment might not be laid at his door. He repeated the urgency of their sailing. The Duke of Bedford desired then to have the orders of the house reversed, and to have the second reading of the bill fixed for the morrow. Lord Hardwicke (who, if I have suspected him wrongfully, was at least conscientiously impatient to do justice on those Irish bankrupts), persisted; and maintained that the orders could not be re-

* I say, *power*: Lord Hardwicke and Lord Anson were out of place—but were they out of power? Without hinting how soon they remounted to formal power, let it be remembered that at that moment, they commanded the House of Lords, and had a vast majority in the House of Commons.

1757. March. 'Court-martial ordered to attend House of Lords.'

versed, unless every lord present consented.—Have I dared to forge all this?—The rest of the lords, who did seem to think that winds and that fleets sailing in their country's cause were of more instant importance than a case of Irish bankruptcy, prevailed even on the late scrupulous chancellor to postpone private justice for *one day*, and the court-martial were ordered to attend the next.

March 2d.—The day opened with a complaint preferred by Lord Sandwich against the publisher of a newspaper, who had printed the oath of secrecy with false additions. Lord Mansfield took on himself the management of the examination. To combat his ability and Hardwicke's acrimony, the unhappy admiral had no friend among the lords but the Earl of Halifax; honest and well-disposed, but no match for the art of the one, or the overbearingness of the other, and on too good terms with both to oppose them in a manner to do any service; and Lord Temple, circumscribed both in interest and abilities from being thoroughly usefull. The chief justice acquainted the house that the questions he proposed to put to the members of the court-martial were, "Whether they knew any matter previous to the sentence, which would show it to be unjust, or procured by any unlawfull means? and, whether they thought themselves restrained by their oath from disclosing such matter?" Lord Temple said, Every body would be at liberty to ask any other questions; and Lord Halifax said, They would not be confined to those of Lord Mansfield.

Admiral Smith, the president of the court, was then called;

1757. March. 'Examination of court-martial in House of Lords.'

a grey-headed man, of comely and respectable appearance; but of no capacity, of no quickness to comprehend the chicanery of such a partial examination. He, and the greater part of his comrades, were awed too with the presence of the great persons before whom they were brought. Moore, and one or two others, were neither awed nor hagled with their inquisitors. Lord Morton caused the twelfth article to be read; and would have asked Admiral Smith, whether he then thought, or ever did think, that article applicable to error of judgment? The impropriety of the question, and the intemperate warmth of the lord who put it, when he was checked by Lord Talbot, broke in on the solemnity of the scene and disturbed it. Lord Temple observed, that Smith had already answered the earl's question by stating in their letter the words, *even by error of judgment*. Lord Hardwicke said, that letter was not on oath, *and hoped would be out of the question;* yet he owned the interrogatory was most improper. Lord Temple insisted that they were under the virtue of their oath, till the sentence was pronounced, and they were dissolved as a court.

Lord Mansfield then asked the president, whether he knew any matter previous to the sentence which would show it to be unjust. He answered, Indeed I do not. Lord Mansfield: If it was given through any undue practice? Admiral Smith: Indeed I do not. Lord Halifax then asked him, if he desired to have the bill? He replied; I have no desire for myself: *it will not be disagreeable to me, if it will be a relief to the consciences of any of my brethren.* Lord Halifax asked him farther,

1757. March. Examination of court-martial in House of Lords.

whether he could reveal any thing relative to the sentence, that was necessary for the King to know, and to incline him to mercy? The admiral said, Indeed I have not, farther than what I wrote at that time to Lord Lyttelton, signifying that we were willing to attend, to give our reasons for signing that letter. Lord Lyttelton said, he had returned that letter to the admiral, that he might read it there. Lord Hardwicke asked, whether he thought himself restrained by his oath from mentioning those reasons? He answered, the application for mercy was unanimous. I think I am at liberty to give the reasons why I requested that mercy—Nobody chose to ask him those reasons—The friends of Mr. Byng, one must suppose, lest it should interfere with the necessity of the bill. His enemies did not desire to know themselves, or that any body else should.

Admiral Holbourn was then called, and to the two former questions of Lord Mansfield, and to the two of Lord Halifax, answered bluntly, No.

The next that appeared was Admiral Norris; a most weak man, who after resisting from the friends of Mr. Byng great sollicitations to interpose in time in favour of the prisoner, to whom he was believed the best disposed (except Moore, the greatest professor of tenderness to Mr. Byng's family) had at last sunk under great inquietudes of remorse; and had pressed most earnestly for parliamentary relief. If in effect he overturned all the consequences of that compunction, he was to be pitied more than blamed: struck with awe of the tribunal

1757. March. 'Examination of court-martial in House of Lords.'

before which he appeared, he showed how little qualified he had been for a judge, when so terrified at superior judges. He lost all comprehension, understood no questions that were asked, nor knew how or when to apply the very answers he came prepared to give. When Lord Mansfield put his question to him, whether he knew any thing previous that would show the sentence to be unjust, he replied, that he desired to be excused from answering while under the oath of secrecy. Lord Mansfield said, to what did he apprehend his oath went? had he any thing to tell, if released from the sanction of it? Lord Fortescue objected, that nobody had a right to ask him his reasons for desiring to be absolved from his oath; and Lord Ravensworth said, an answer in the affirmative would look like accusing himself—indeed it was difficult to know how the court-martial could complain of what they had done or submitted to, without accusing themselves in the heaviest manner. Lord Hardwicke declared, if this question was not answered, that he would vote against the bill; and why, said he, are these excuses made for Mr. Norris? he does not make them for himself. Ask him in the very words of the bill.—It was evident that Norris thought, that in order to obtain the bill, he must not give the least satisfaction on any question. Accordingly, when questioned if he knew any thing that would show the sentence to be unjust? he replied, No. If he knew any thing of undue practices? still he answered, No. Yet when Lord Halifax asked him, whether he was desirous the bill should pass? he replied, Yes. Lord Halifax: If he knew

1757. March. 'Examination of court-martial in House of Lords.'

any thing that was necessary for the King to know, and that would incline him to mercy? He begged leave not to answer, and withdrew. The contradiction in this behaviour must be left to the comment of the reader. The only observation I would make, not only on Norris, but on his associates (I speak not of those who evidently were influenced) is this: If, as they all said, they knew nothing unjust, why did they sollicit to be released from an oath of secrecy, under the lock of which they had no secret?—is it not more probable that they were ashamed of what they had done, and neither knew how to bear or avow it?

Admiral Broderick was short and steady in negatives to all the questions. Holmes as explicit, saying he knew nothing to incline the King to mercy but the sentence and their letter. Lord Halifax then informed the Lords, that Norris had recollected himself, and desired to return to the bar. Lord Cholmondeley and Lord Stamford objected to it, but even Lord Hardwicke could not close with such rigour, though he declared against repeating the like indulgence. Norris returning, and being asked if he knew any thing proper for his Majesty to know, and that might incline him to mercy, replied, *At the time that I said I desired the act might pass, I thought we should have an opportunity of explaining our reasons for signing the sentence.* These words, though obscure, and by no means adequate to what was expected from his desire of being reheard, seemed to imply that he had been drawn into the harshness of the sentence from some arguments of the im-

1757. March. 'Examination of court-martial in House of Lords.'

probability that it would be carried into execution. This in the utmost candour I own; it was what all the advocates for rigour insisted was the case: though the defence in truth is but a sorry one, for what can exceed the weakness of condemning a man, whom one thinks innocent, upon the supposition that he will afterwards escape?

Geary, the accomodating Geary, the repenter of his repentance, came next; answered *no*, to Lord Mansfield's questions, like the rest: to Lord Halifax's, whether desirous of the bill, replied *no*, but have no objections to it, if it will be to the satisfaction of any body; and that he knew nothing for mercy but the sentence and letter. Could you, said Lord Fortescue, if the act should pass, explain the sentence better? "My oath of secrecy," said Geary, "will not let me say more." Captain Boyce gave his three noes to the questions. So did Moore to Lord Mansfield's. When asked by Lord Halifax, if desirous of the bill? he said, "I am very desirous of it, that I may be absolved from my oath; I have been under concern when I took it—I don't mean on this point." To the other question relative to the King and mercy, he said, "I don't think myself at liberty to answer while bound by my oath." To Lord Fortescue, whether if absolved, he could better explain the sentence and letter? he replied in these equivocal words, "I could give better reasons for my signing." Simko, Douglas, and Bentley, were unanimous in negatives to all the questions. Then Keppel appeared. Being asked if he knew any thing unjust?—after long silence and consideration, he replied, *No*. Whether the sentence was obtained through undue practices?

1757. March. 'Examination of court-martial in House of Lords.'

No. Whether desirous of the bill? "Yes, undoubtedly." Whether he knew any thing necessary for the knowledge of the King, and conducive to mercy? Keppel: "I cannot answer that, without particularizing my vote and opinion." Lord Halifax asked him whether he thought his particular reasons had been asked now? He replied, *No.* He retired. If Keppel had had no more to tell, than that he had been drawn into the harsher measure by the probability of the gentler preponderating at last, he had in truth been much misunderstood: his regret had worn all the appearance of remorse. How he came to appear so calm and so indifferent at the last moment in which either regret or remorse could hope to have any effect, I pretend not to decide. Such as showed any compunction of any sort I would excuse to the utmost.—Those who determined *no* compunction should operate, and those who, like Moore and Geary, abandoned their contrition to make their court, I desire not to absolve. The former were gratified, the latter were rewarded. Dennis was the last who appeared, and took care to have no more tenderness before the lords than he had exerted in the House of Commons.

Lord Temple then desired that the court-martial might be absolved from their attendance; and that the depositions might be read over. When finished, he said (what indeed in his situation he could not well help saying, considering how few questions had been put except the captious ones of Lord Mansfield, and how little satisfaction had been obtained, and that even Keppel himself had not said half so much as he had said in the House of Commons), Lord Temple, I say, after

congratulating the King and nation on the temper that had been observed, said, the discussion might produce an opinion that the sentence was just: he had had doubts, but now they were all removed: yet he would ask, whether still it were not better to indulge the conscientious with the bill, especially as it would clear all doubts in others?

1757. March.

Lord Marchmont and Lord Hardwicke objected warmly to that proposal, and treated the House of Commons with the highest scorn. The former said, he had the utmost contempt for the bill, and hoped their lordships would set their mark on all who had traduced the court-martial, whose very countenances had shown their breasts. He begged the house no farther to load his Majesty, but to reject the bill. Lord Halifax acknowledged that all who read the preamble, must have concluded that they had something material to divulge: yet not one had produced any one circumstance. For himself, he was never ashamed to retract, when the ground had gone from him. Yet he thought they still must have had reasons for their extraordinary behaviour, and wished for the bill to clear up that wonderfull sentence and letter. But Lord Hardwicke authoritatively put an end to the debate; said the recital to the preamble had been false; that they had sworn there had been no undue practice, and that it appeared upon what no grounds the House of Commons had proceeded: which he hoped would tend to ease the mind of his Majesty. He proposed, and it was ordered, that the whole examination should be printed.

'Bill debated and dropped in House of Lords.'

The affair having concluded in this extraordinary manner,

1757. March. 'Result of proceedings in parliament.'

the friends of Mr. Byng could no longer expect any mercy. If he could be brought to the verge of death after such a sentence and such a recommendation from his judges; if the remorse of those judges could only interpose; undoubtedly their retracting all distress of conscience, and upholding their sentence in a firmer manner than when they first pronounced it, could neither give the King a new handle to pardon, nor any hopes to the admiral's well-wishers. They despaired, though they ceased not to sollicit. Of the court-martial* it must be remembered, that Norris, who had faltered, was never after employed—that Keppel was—that Moore had immediately assigned to him the most profitable station during the war.

I hasten to the conclusion of the tragedy: a few intervening incidents I shall resume afterwards.

The 14th of March was appointed for execution.—Yet one more unexpected event seemed to promise another interruption. The city of London had all along assumed that unamiable department of a free government, inconsiderate clamour for punishment. But as a mob is always the first engine of severity, so it is generally the foremost, often the sole body that melts and feels compassion when it is too late. Their favorite spectacle is a brave sufferer. This time they anticipated tenderness. On the 9th, at eleven at night, four Tory aldermen went to Dickinson, the lord mayor, to desire

* As some of them said in plain terms that they were satisfied with the sentence, in how many contradictions were they involved! By the very wording of the sentence, which expressed dissatisfaction; by the letter that accompanied it; by Admiral Smith's letter to Sir R. Lyttelton, which said that they were all willing to appear before the privy-council or the parliament to explain their reasons!

1757. March. 'Petition for mercy from city intended and dropped.'

he would summon a common council, intending to promote a petition to the King to spare the admiral. The motion was imputed to Mr. Pitt. The magistrate, as unfeelingly formal as if he had been the first magistrate in the kingdom, replied, it was too late; he would be at home till noon of the next day. On the morrow they sent to him not to dismiss his officers—but he heard no more, though they continued squabbling among themselves till two in the morning. Thus the last chance was lost. Had the first midnight emotion been seized, it might have spread happily—at least the King could not have pleaded his promise of severity pledged to the city. I hesitate even to mention what I will not explain, as I cannot prove my suspicion: but I was eye-witness to a secret and particular conference between Dickinson and another man, who, I have but too much reason to think, had a black commission.

Death of Admiral Byng.

The fatal morning arrived, but was by no means met by the admiral with reluctance. The whole tenor of his behaviour had been chearfull, steady, dignified, sensible. While he felt like a victim, he acted like a hero. Indeed he was the only man whom his enemies had had no power to bend to their purposes. He always received with indignation any proposal from his friends of practising an escape; an advantage he scorned to lend to clamour. Of his fate he talked with indifference; and neither shunned to hear the requisite dispositions, nor affected parade in them. For the last fortnight he constantly declared that he would not suffer a handkerchief over his face, that it might be seen whether he betrayed the least symptom of fear; and when the minute

1757. March. 'Death of Admiral Byng.'

arrived, adhered to his purpose. He took an easy leave of his friends, detained the officers not a moment, went directly to the deck, and placed himself in a chair with neither ceremony nor lightness. Some of the more humane officers represented to him, that his face being uncovered, might throw reluctance into the executioners; and besought him to suffer a handkerchief. He replied with the same unconcern, "If it will frighten *them*, let it be done: they would not frighten *me*." His eyes were bound; they shot, and he fell at once *.

It has often been remarked, that whoever dies in public, dies well. Perhaps those, who, trembling most, maintain a dignity in their fate, are the bravest: resolution on reflection is real courage. It is less condemnable, than a melancholy vain-glory, when some men are ostentatious at their death. But surely a man who can adjust the circumstances of his

* [The following extract from our author's private correspondence in MS. corroborates the account given in the text, and as it contains some further particulars, may be acceptable to the reader. E.]

March 17, 1757.—"Admiral Byng's tragedy was compleated on Monday—a perfect tragedy—for there were variety of incidents, villainy, murder, and a hero. His sufferings, persecutions, aspersions, disturbances, nay, the revolutions of his fate, had not in the least unhinged his mind; his whole behaviour was natural and firm. A few days before, one of his friends standing by him, said, "Which of us is tallest?" He replied, "Why this ceremony? I know what it means; let the man come and measure me for my coffin." He said, that being acquitted of cowardice, and being persuaded on the coolest reflection, that he had acted for the best, and should act so again, he was not unwilling to suffer. He desired to be shot on the quarter-deck, not where common malefactors are:—came out at twelve—sat down in a chair, for he would not kneel, and refused to have his face covered, that his countenance might show whether he feared death; but being told that it might frighten his executioners, he submitted; gave the signal at once; received one shot through the head, another through the heart, and fell."

1757. March. 'Reflections on Admiral Byng's behaviour.'

execution beforehand; who can say, "Thus I will do, and thus;" who can sustain the determined part, and throws in no unnecessary pomp, that man does not fear—can it be probable he ever did fear? I say nothing of Mr. Byng's duels; cowards have ventured life for reputation: I say nothing of his having been a warm persecutor of Admiral Matthews: cowards, like other guilty persons, are often severe against failings, which they hope to conceal in themselves by condemning in others: it was the uniformity of Mr. Byng's behaviour from the outset of his persecution to his catastrophe, from whence I conclude that he was aspersed as unjustly, as I am sure that he was devoted maliciously, and put to death contrary to all equity and precedent *.

I have perhaps dwelt too long on his story—let me be excused: I could not say too much in behalf of a man, whose

* Many years after that tragedy was acted, I received a most authentic and shocking confirmation of the justice of my suspicions. October 21, 1783, being with her Royal Highness Princess Amelie at her villa at Gunnersbury, among many interesting anecdotes which I have set down in another place, she told me, that while Admiral Byng's affair was depending, the Duchess of Newcastle sent Lady Sophia Egerton to her the Princess, to beg her to be *for* the execution of Admiral Byng. They thought, added the Princess, that unless he was put to death, Lord Anson could not be at the head of the Admiralty. Indeed, continued the Princess, I was already for it, the officers would never have fought, if he had not been executed. I replied, that I thought his death most unjust, and the sentence a most absurd contradiction.

Lady Sophia Egerton was wife of a clergyman, afterwards Bishop of Durham. What a complication of horrors! women employed on a job for blood!

[As the author calls this accidental conversation at Gunnersbury "a most *authentic* confirmation of his suspicions," the Editor was not at liberty to omit any part of the story; though the reader will probably think with him, that more importance is ascribed to mere gossip than it deserves. E.]

1757. March. sufferings, with whatever kind intention, I unhappily protracted!

'Rochester election.' The cosinhood intended to supply Byng's seat at Rochester with Dr. Hay of their own Admiralty, whom Fox had jostled out of parliament. The King, by suggestion from the same quarter, told Lord Temple, "That Rochester was a borough of the crown, not of the Admiralty; nor did he like Hay or any of their Admiralty; they had endeavoured to represent his justice as cruelty; he would have Admiral Smith chosen there." The subject was artfully selected, a relation of their own. Lord Temple, with more calmness and decency than he often condescended to employ in the cabinet, contested it long: and at last said, he would not obstruct his Majesty's service and commands—but he would be no borough-jobber, he would have nothing to do with it, nor would he pay the price of blood by bringing into parliament the president of that court that had condemned Admiral Byng. As the measure was taken to get rid of Mr. Pitt and his friends, it was hoped they would resign on this obstacle, which might pass for a private affair: but they were too wise to be the dupes. The Duke of Devonshire was ordered to recommend Admiral Smith to Rochester, but the poor man was shocked both at succeeding a person he had sentenced, and at being chosen for a stumbling-block to his friends. He said he had not sufficient estate for a qualification; and declined. Admiral Townshend, the gaoler of Byng, had no scruples, and was elected.

On the 8th of this month advice was received that a French army of one hundred and four thousand men, commanded by

the Comte de Clermont and Marshal D'Etrèes, were marched to the Lower Rhine. 1757. March.

A slight event that, by displaying the Duke's moderation, indicated his having views at that time which it was worth his while, by curbing his natural temper, to gratify, may be fitly mentioned. Colonel Forbes, a man of parts and spirit, had long lain under his displeasure, being suspected of having writ some severe pamphlets against him. They were in truth the compositions of one Douglas. Forbes, during the preceding summer, had ingratiated himself with the Duke of Bedford in the camp at Blandford, where his grace had been reading Bladen's Cæsar and Bland's Military Discipline, and playing at being a general, for he was always eager about what he was least fit for. He immediately undertook to reconcile Forbes to the * Duke, who would not listen to him. Richbell's regiment falling vacant in Ireland, the lord-lieutenant gave himself no farther trouble to obtain the favour of the Duke for Forbes, but carried a warrant ready drawn to the King, who signed it, and Forbes had the regiment. The Duke bore it without a murmur.

On the 13th died Dr. Herring, Archbishop of Canterbury, a very amiable man, to whom no fault was objected; though perhaps the gentleness of his principles, his great merit, was thought one. During the rebellion he had taken up arms to defend from oppression *that* religion, which he abhorred Death of Archbishop Herring.

[The Duke of Cumberland. E.]

1757. March. making an instrument of oppression. He was succeeded by Dr. Hutton, Archbishop of York, a finer gentleman, except where money was in question. The Duke of Newcastle, to pay court to Leicester-house, had promised York to Dr. Thomas, of Peterborough, the Prince's preceptor: but though he had been raised by the King himself, his Majesty (to thwart the Princess, who had indulged the bishop in no weight with her son, and was consequently indifferent about him), refused to confirm the grant, and bestowed the archbishoprick on Gilbert, of Salisbury, who had formerly shed courtly tears in a sermon on the Queen. Gilbert was composed of that common mixture, ignorance, meanness, and arrogance. Having once pronounced that Dr. King ought to be expelled Oxford for disaffection, the latter said he would consent to expulsion, provided Gilbert would propose it in convocation—the motion must have been in Latin. Thomas was permitted to succeed to Salisbury. On the news of Gilbert's promotion, they rung the bells at York backwards in detestation of him. He opened a great table there, and in six months they thought him the most christian prelate that had ever sat in that see.

Abolition of the office of wine licences.

18th.—Legge opened the new taxes, and particularly proposed to abolish the commissioners of wine-licences, which office he would incorporate with that of the stamps. Among those commissioners was one Harris, a dependent and intimate of Fox, who broke out on this occasion in the most imprudent manner—"Was this the beginning of reformation? why was it not carried farther? why not abolish one of the secretaries

of the treasury? why did Mr. Legge himself receive double salary as lord of the treasury? He himself would have been content with half the pay of secretary of state. Sir Robert Walpole had never destroyed the offices and influence of the crown. He taxed Hardinge with being author of this scheme. Legge replied, yes, it *was* the beginning of reformation; and if others would, he himself would serve for nothing. Beckford said *principiis obsta;* he liked better to begin with small things than great, because from the former there might be hopes—but he knew, he saw, why Mr. Fox was averse from demolishing the influence of the crown. Of all things he should disapprove any diminution of the salaries of great officers, in order to carry on the war, for then he was sure there would soon be a peace. Pitt was very ill, and could not attend. 1757. March.

I hinted that it was determined to dismiss Mr. Pitt and his friends, or provoke them to resign: I shall now explain that measure, which opens a new scene.

The French had made an irruption into Germany with a mighty army, and threatened Hanover. The King had neither able generals there nor ministers on whom he could rely. The latter were Austrians in their hearts, with the additional incumbrance of possessing estates in the countries of the Empress. The Duke, since the accession of Mr. Pitt to the administration, was become a favorite: the King readily vented his mortifications to his son, who he knew would chearfully be a confident of his aversion to the Princess and her faction. By the channel of the Duke and Princess Emily, Fox had 'Intrigues to dismiss Mr. Pitt.'

1757. March. 'Intrigues to dismiss Pitt, and form new ministry.'

insinuated innumerable prejudices and obstructions to the new ministers. At this juncture the King cast his eyes on the Duke, as the sole resource for Hanover. His son had saved his crown; he wished to owe the preservation of the dearer Electorate to him. The Duke was very averse to the charge. War with all its charms could not tempt him now. His many defeats by the French still ached. If to be clogged with orders from Pitt, if to be obliged to communicate with him, and depend on him for supplies, command itself would lose its lustre. Even if succesfull, the popularity of Pitt would ravish half his laurels—should he miscarry, his misfortunes would all be imputed to himself. Fox snatched at this dilemma: he knew the King would pay any price to rescue Hanover, and suggested to the Duke to demand as a previous condition the dismission of Pitt—could his Majesty hesitate between an unwelcome servant and a favorite dominion? The terms were granted—but were too soon performed. The King hurried away the Duke. His Royal Highness would not endure even for a fortnight to be accountable to Pitt: yet there had been no time to settle a new administration. The inquiries still hung over the heads of the old ministers; and though a whole parliament of his own interposed their bucklers, Newcastle shuddered at the glimpse of an axe in the faint hand of a wearied rabble. Fox wished for power without the name of it; Newcastle for both. If his grace would have united with him, Fox would have taken the paymastership with a peerage for his wife, and a pension of 2000*l.* a year on Ireland for himself. But Newcastle could

be pinned down to no terms: he advanced to Fox, retreated farther from him, would mention no conditions, nor agree to any. Lord Mansfield had early gone to Claremont and endeavoured to fix him to Fox; but as that lord himself told the latter, Newcastle was governed by Lord Hardwicke even by a letter. Fox would then have assumed the government himself, could he have conjured together the slightest vision of a ministry. He tried Lord Granville, he courted Devonshire, he offerred the treasury to Bedford; but though nobody was more sanguine in the cause than the latter, yet as it was not easy to give Rigby an equivalent for Ireland, he took care to regulate his patron's warmth within the pale of his own advantage. 1757. March.

In this strange uncertainty the day of the Duke's departure was fixed; and fixed it was that Pitt and Lord Temple should be thrust out by any means. Pitt had behaved with as much veneration as his Majesty could expect; with as much as he was fond himself of receiving: surely he had even shown that German measures were not beyond the compass of his homage. But he had introduced eloquence into the closet: the King was a man of plain sense, and neither used ornament in discourse nor admired it—sometimes too the drift of his royal pleasure was too delicate to be conveyed but in hints. He liked to be served in essentials; it was better not to expatiate on them. Lord Temple was still more tiresome; and when his verboseness did not persuade, he quickened it with impertinence. On the affair of Mr. Byng he had even gone so far as to sketch out some parallel between the Monarch himself The Duke goes to Hanover to command the army.

1757. March. and the admiral, in which the advantage did not lie on the side of the battle of Oudenarde.

'Change in ministry.' The King resenting this and other instances in the strongest manner, Lord Temple sent him word by the Duke of Devonshire, that he could not serve him more, though he should not resign till a convenient opportunity; that he would not even have come out of his Majesty's closet as a minister, if it would not have distressed those with whom he was connected. Pitt himself kept in the outward room, saying, he no longer looked upon himself as a minister; and attributing this storm solely to Fox, he bad Lord George Sackville, who was feeling about for a reconciliation between him and Newcastle, tell that duke, that he was not so averse to him as his grace had been told: let him judge by my actions, added he, if I have been averse to him.

The idea of the approaching change no sooner spread than it occasioned the greatest astonishment: indignation followed; ridicule kept up the indignation. The first jealousy was, that British troops would attend the Duke to Germany. Fox called on Legge in the house to disavow this, which he did; and the former declared, that it had never existed even in the wish of his royal highness—(that measure indeed was reserved for Pitt!) George Townshend, to prevent the change by intimidating, called for more papers; but as Fox wished for nothing more than to dispatch the inquiries, after which he would be at liberty to appear again on the scene; he pressed to have them begin; and Townshend was forced to yield that they should commence on the 19th of April, the first day after the recess of Easter. Sir Francis Dashwood said, that day

would interfere with the meeting at Newmarket, and proposed a later time. Fox said there would be a second meeting, with which a later day would equally clash. I blush to repeat these circumstances—was it a greater proof of the levity of our character, or of the little that was to be expected from the inquiries, when a senate sat weighing horse-races against national resentment and justice—Newmarket against the fate of Minorca*! George Townshend added some sharp words on the abuse published against Pitt. Fox said, he desired the liberty of the press might continue; nobody had sufferred more from it than himself, yet he would not be for restraining it. Did Mr. Townshend object to † cards and pictures? George Grenville said, he knew when he accepted a place what tax he was to pay for it—yet, said Fox, *I* have been most abused since out of place. 1757. March.

April 5th.—Lord Holderness went to Lord Temple to notify to him his dismission. Legge prevailed on Pitt and the rest not to resign, but to be turned out. The Duke of Devonshire had offerred Legge to remain; but though he was never tardy at abandoning his friends for a richer prospect, nobody was more steady when it would hurt him to desert. The next night Mr. Pitt was discarded: and then George Grenville and the others resigned. Charles Townshend alone took time to consider: the income of his place was large, and April. 'Dismissal and resignation of ministers.'

* Indeed there was so little intended by the inquiries, that Legge himself, one of the new tribunes of the people, said, "Both sides will be trying which shall fling most dust in the eyes of the nation."

† Townshend had been author of the first political caricatura card, with portraits of Newcastle and Fox.

1757. April. he did not love Pitt. After an uncertainty of near three weeks, he resigned; but by a letter to the Duke of Devonshire avoided as much as possible to have it thought that he quitted from attachment to Pitt. Resigning with him and not for him, Townshend thought, intituled him to be restored with Pitt, yet would not subject him to the King's displeasure.

'Efforts to form a new administration.' All men were curious to see the new administration. None was formed. Lord Egremont had consented to accept the seals of secretary of state, but soon desired to be excused. He had miscarried with Lord Granville, had not succeeded better by assiduous court to Newcastle, and now attaching himself to Fox, had his hopes soon blasted with this blossom of an administration. Doddington, who had gone in and out too often to lose any reputation by one more promotion or disgrace, was ready to take any thing. Sir George Lee, who could not give up the hopes of being prime minister, though never thought of but when he could not be so, prepared to accept the chancellorship of the exchequer; and Lord Winchelsea, uniform in detesting the Grenvilles, immediately entered upon his old office, the admiralty, with a motley board composed of Boscawen, (one of the last set), Rowley, (of the foregoing), Moyston, his own nephew, Lord Carysfort, and young Sandys. Elliot was offerred to remain, but refused; and W. Gerard Hamilton was designed for the seventh.

Yet an admiralty did not make an administration. No man of abilities or reputation would inlist—even Sir Thomas Robinson refused to take the seals again. Yet the Duke embarked with satisfaction, telling Mr. Conway, the King could

not be in a worse situation than he had been—"Yes, Sir," said Conway, "but he will, if Mr. Pitt gets the better." And Fox, to gratify at least some of his views in this revolution, procured a grant for himself and his two sons of the reversion of Doddington's place of clerk of the pells in Ireland. The King had forbidden the Duke, who negotiated this business, to mention the peerage for Lady Caroline, which he would never grant; but he would give him Doddington's place for his child—"Say children, Sir," replied the Duke: "With all my heart," said the King; "it is the same thing to me."—He cared not how many reversions he granted from his successor. Still it was impossible for Fox himself to accept any ministerial post till the inquiries were at an end; the whole tempest would have been directed at his head. Indeed many had such intentions: at a meeting of Pitt's friends and the Tories, it was agreed to push the scrutiny into the military part with great vehemence. Charles Townshend accepted the office of manager; and George, on moving for more papers, made severe remarks on the want of miners at Minorca; which Fox excused, saying, it was hoped that the Minorchese, who had assisted in digging the mines, would have contributed to their defence. To keep miners there on the establishment had been thought too expensive. Are they more expensive to the government, replied Townshend, than sinecures? alluding to Fox's new reversion. Pitt, at the meeting I have mentioned, promised his support, but feared he should not be able to speak five minutes for his cough—He was aware that New-

1757. April.

'Parliamentary inquiries into the loss of Minorca.'

1757. April. 'Mr. Pitt's power

castle had left too little power to Fox in their joint administration, for it to be possible with any degree of decency to brand the one, and slide over the errors of the other, with whom Pitt wished to unite. Yet the temper of the nation left him master to take whatever resolution he pleased. The rashness of throwing government into imminent confusion at such a juncture, struck both the enemies and friends of Fox. His ambition was glaring; his interestedness, not even specious. Pitt had acted during his short reign with a haughty reserve, that, if it had kept off dependents and attachments, at least had left him all the air of patriot privacy; and having luckily, from the King's dislike of him, and from the shortness of the time, been dipt but in few ungracious businesses, he came back to the mob scarce

——— shorn of his beams.

and popularity.'

The stocks fell; the common council voted the freedom of the city both to Pitt and Legge *; Sir John Barnard alone giving a negative. Allen of Bath procured them the same honour from thence; and for some weeks it rained gold boxes: Chester, Worcester, Norwich, Bedford, Salisbury, Yarmouth, Tewksbury, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Stirling, and other populous and chief towns following the example. Exeter, with singular affectation, sent boxes of heart of oak. On the other hand, a paper was affixed to the gate of St. James's with these words,

* A card was published representing Pitt and Legge, like Don Quixote and Sancho Pança, in a triumphal car, with this motto,

——Et sibi Consul
Ne placeat, servus curru portatur eodem.—Juv.

"A secretary of state much wanted; honesty not necessary; no principles will be treated with." 1757. April.

Such venom was not likely to biass Newcastle to Mr. Fox. It was the King's wish that they should unite; and many messages passed; but in vain. It was pretended that the Duke had promised his Majesty never to join Pitt, unless by command. The King said, he would abdicate sooner than give him such command; and complained bitterly of his ingratitude; imputing to him a refusal made by Lord Duplin to be chancellor of the exchequer; and his leaving his Majesty at the mercy of Mr. Pitt, by not uniting with Fox. His Grace, who scrupled not to wipe out one imputation by deserving another, wrote a penitential letter, and sent it by Munchausen, lamenting his disgrace, after so many years of service, and hoping, when the inquiries should be at an end, that he might again have admission to the closet, where he should be ready to protest and promise whatever his Majesty expected. He had scarce written this letter, but he laboured anew to obstruct the junction of his friends with Fox. In general, they outran his intentions: Lord Lincoln hated Fox; the little tools feared him. Murray and Hume Campbell and Arundel sincerely wished to bring them together. 'Duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox.'

The Princess, who looked on any settlement in which Fox was concerned as an establishment of the Duke's power, frowned on the new revolution; and though Fox made very humble overtures to Leicester-House, they were flatly rejected. Pitt grew less and less austere to Newcastle; and

1757. April. 'Duke of Newcastle.'

now, when this vain man was arrived at the period of detected misgovernment with regard to his country, of ingratitude and disobedience to his master, of caprice, duplicity, and irresolution toward sall factions; when under prosecution by parliament, and frowned on by his sovereign; at this instant were the hopes, the vows of all men addressed to him! The outcast of the ministry, the scorn of the court, the jest of the people, was the arbiter of Britain: her King, her patriots, her factions, waited to see into what scale he would fling his influence!

The inquiries into the loss of Minorca.

In the meantime the inquiries began April 19th. I shall give but a summary account of them: it would be ridiculous to enter into the detail of a pantomime, from which nothing was intended, expected, or produced. The Townshends pretended to be managers against the ministers: Hume Campbell and Lord Royston acted with spirit and sense for their friends: Ellis was agent for Fox. The latter himself meddled a little, pointing out where inconveniences might arrive to government from probing intelligence too nicely. The examination began with reading all the papers in order; intelligence, letters, orders, &c. But no kind of check had been held over the offices from whence the materials came. The clerks had been left at liberty to omit, abridge, secrete, what they pleased. No questions were asked, no proofs of authenticity demanded, no witnesses examined; and, for fear of discovering our channels of intelligence, no names were inserted in the extracts. And as the offices had been sufferred to curtail at their discretion, so they had had as impartial liberty to send

as much useless and perplexing lumber as they could amass. The very dates of the letters filled three and twenty sheets of paper! All this was read over in a hurry, yet was so tiresome, that before half a day was wasted, the house was almost empty. Yet three or four hundred men were supposed to extract a judgment from so crude and slovenly a process! 1757. April.

'Mr. Pitt's conduct on the inquiries.'

Pitt, it was expected, would take advantage of illness and not appear. But he refined on that old finesse; and pretending to wave the care of a broken constitution, when his country demanded his service, and as a pledge of his sincerity in the scrutiny, he came to the discussion in all the studied apparatus of a theatric valetudinarian. The weather was unseasonably warm; yet he was dressed in an old coat and wastecoat of bever laced with gold: over that, a red surtout, the right arm lined with fur, and appendent with many black ribbands, to indicate his inability of drawing it over his right arm, which hung in a crape sling, but which in the warmth of speaking he drew out with unlucky activity, and brandished as usual. On his legs were riding stockings. In short, no aspiring cardinal ever coughed for the Tiara with more specious debility. This mummery was covered over with candour: he acquiesced in every softening term proposed by the advocates of the late criminals: his justice shrunk behind apprehensions of personality: moderation was the sole virtue of a censor. The loss of Minorca he avowed he meant to charge on the whole government—for the whole government could not be punished. On the second day, indeed, he trespassed a little

1757. April. upon all these gentle virtues, and threatened to *secede*, and publish to the world the iniquity of the majority: but recollecting how much more usefull to him the majority might be than the world, he recomposed himself, and was content that the majority should be responsible for whatever defects the public might find in the judgment given by the house.

'Inquiries into the loss of Minorca.' George Townshend proposed several resolutions: the drift of all was to show that the administration had chosen to believe a threatened invasion on Great Britain, rather than a design on Minorca. These motions were contested, modified, balanced, by appendent questions proposed by the courtiers. Henley, the attorney-general, scrupled not in the very outset to propose approbation. Pitt said, he should prefer printing the examination, and leaving the public to judge for themselves. Hume Campbell pleaded, that such procedure in the House of Commons would be abdicating their share of government. The ministerial party endeavoured, though with ostentatious decency, to load the late admiral; but in general their arguments tended to nothing but to prove, that *Minorca had been lost by the common course of office.* The questions of the opposition were corrected, till all sting was taken out of them; and still others were coupled to them, that made the votes of the house seem a meer set of questions and answers, in which the whole advantage remained to the respondent. These things passed not without divisions, but as the majority felt itself a majority, it was not modest; it stated roundly in favour of its principals. Yet on the last day of the committee,

the courtiers moving a resolution, that no greater force could have been sent to the Mediterranean under Mr. Byng, Triumph itself blushed at so palpable a falshood, and the victorious majority shrunk to 78, many retiring, and many of the more independent sort joining the minority. By this might be seen what Mr. Pitt had in his power, had he exerted himself. The alarm however was so great, that a conclusive vote of acquittal, nay, of approbation, which it had been determined should be proposed by Lord Granby and Lord George Cavendish, was dropped with evident marks of dismay; and the late cabinet, to their great disappointment, were forced to sit down contented, without receiving the thanks of the House of Commons for the loss of Minorca. 1757. April.

'No ministry formed.'

The conclusion of the inquiries however, from which at least it had been supposed a new administration would arise, facilitated nothing. No approbation given pointed out nobody as deserving power again: nobody being stigmatized, nobody seemed excluded. Pitt had declined triumph, consequently had gained none. A field of negotiation was still open, till three men, who knew, hated, and could not trust one another, might settle some such plan of agreement, as would still leave those who should unite, the hopes and the prospect of betraying or overpowering their new allies.

In the meantime, as if to show how long a great nation can carry on itself without any government, there were no ministers, even in the midst of a formidable war, but those baby politicians, the Duke of Devonshire and Lord Holderness: the

1757. April. former with much importance declaring, that he would retain the treasury but till some new system should be compleated: yet he was delighted with the plaything of power, and wished his holidays might be protracted. For the King himself, his very office seemed annihilated. While the three factions were caballing, he had not even an option. Whatever administration should be settled, he was to receive when presented to him. Lord Mansfield held the seals of the exchequer *pro tempore;* and the House of Commons was so devoid of a minister, that the office of proposing the ways and means devolved on Nugent, one of the lords of the treasury.

The militia bill passes.

The House of Lords were employed on the militia. Lord Hardwicke opposed, but would not divide against it. The Duke of Bedford and Lord Temple joined to support it; and it passed at last by 64 to 48.

While this ridiculous scene was acting at home, our foreign affairs wore a more respectable aspect. Count Rantzau, the Danish minister, mentioned to Lady Yarmouth on the part of France a neutrality for Hanover. She discreetly refused to meddle in it. He then in concert with the minister of the Empress-queen proposed it in form, but the terms* were so

* Vienna, June 4.—Marshal Daun has detached from his army a regiment of hussars and some light troops, in order to cover the western side of Bohemia from the incursions of the Prussians. The Empress-queen has communicated to several of the courts with whom she is in friendship, the conditions that were proposed for bringing about a neutrality in favour of the electorate of Hanover. According to the overtures made on this occasion, the King of Great Britain, in quality of elector of Hanover, would have been considered as a party not concerned in the present

humiliating, that the King rejected them with dignity and scorn. In truth, as Elector, his situation deserved compassion. At this instant, the French had seized in their own name the county of Bentheim, a purchase his Majesty had made himself: the rest of his territories they pretended to hold for the Empress-queen. Under this depression news came of a great victory obtained by the King of Prussia over the Austrians. He had planned his measures with such intelligence, that he previously ventured to send the King word, that he should make four attacks at once on the quarters of the enemy, and expected to find them unprepared. He confirmed his designs by success, carried every attack, possessed himself of their magazines, and when he dispatched the courier, was within thirty miles of Prague, hoping to be master of Bohemia by the 15th of the month, and to be able to detach a body of twenty-five thousand men to support the Duke of Cumberland. The Austrian generals disagreed; their foot behaved

1757. April.

Great success of the King of Prussia.

war, in consequence of which neither his troops nor those of his allies were to act against those of the Empress-queen and her allies. He would likewise have engaged not to assist the King of Prussia either with troops or money. The passage through that part of his electorate which lies on the left of the Aller was to have been granted to the troops of her Imperial Majesty and her allies, they paying for provisions, forage and waggons; besides which, they were to be allowed to establish magazines and hospitals in such places as should be assigned them in the electorate. The town of Hamelen was to be given up as a security, either into the hands of the Empress or of some of her allies, or to the guarantees of the convention, which were proposed to be the Empress of Russia and the King of Denmark. Besides all this, it was to be stipulated in this convention, that the Hanoverian troops should be quartered in such places only as should be agreed upon, and their number not augmented. (*Extract from printed journal.*)

1757. April. ill: in general their troops thought the Prussians irresistible.

The Hero-King, who dared to prophecy, because he left so little to chance, pursued his blow; Marshal Brown retiring to the other side of Prague. The King of Prussia with a strong army on one side, Marshal Schwerin at the head of another from behind fell on Brown at once, forced his camp, and took it with all his tents, baggage, and 250 pieces of cannon. Prince Charles, Brown, and Lucchesi, were wounded, and shut up in Prague. The King of Prussia lost little in numbers, exceedingly in one man, Marshal Schwerin, who making his attack before his second line was formed, and seeing his first line repulsed, seized a pair of colours, and fell with them in his hand. The glory of the day, that thus remained indubitably with the King, did not recompense him for the loss of such a servant.

Various plans of an administration.

The primate of Ireland, who suspected that he should have little part in the Bedford administration, had staid in England to negotiate between Newcastle and Pitt, hoping that if Fox was entirely set aside here, the Duke of Bedford might in pique resign his new empire before he took possession of it; at least would not be countenanced in any depression of him (the primate.) Lord George Sackville laboured in the same cause; and about the second week in May an interview was brought about between Pitt and Lord Hardwicke—as the latter said, *by chance.* Pitt insisted that Newcastle should not interfere in the House of Commons, nor with the province of

secretary of state; that is, with neither domestic nor foreign affairs, but should confine himself to the treasury; yet there too Pitt pretended to place George Grenville as chancellor of the exchequer, with Potter and James Grenville. Legge, whom he meaned to remove, having conceived insuperable aversion to him since harnessed with himself in the trammels of popularity, he named for the head of the admiralty, with a peerage. For Lord Temple he demanded the garter and some post in the cabinet. The terms were lofty; yet considering his interest in the people, and his experience of Newcastle's engrossing chicanery, he was justifiable in endeavouring to clip the wings of so volatile a constitution. The death of the Duke of Grafton, who had so often transacted Newcastle's variations, arrived now to facilitate his re-establishment. The Duke of Devonshire was charmed with the baubles of the chamberlain's office, and in three days accepted the white stick and golden key, leaving the treasury open. Yet in a week more the treaty between Newcastle and Pitt was broken off. Newcastle had negotiated for support, not for a master. Lord Hardwicke, notwithstanding his predilection for Pitt, owned that Fox was the more practicable: and George Grenville, finding that the coalition was impeded by what was demanded for him, desired to wave the exchequer. But Pitt, not apt to bend to difficulties, replied to this concession, that it became Mr. Grenville to make it, but he himself should not relax.

1757. April. 'Plans for forming an administration.'

During this parley, the King demanded support from the two houses. Lord Waldegrave moved the address, and a

1757. May. million was proposed. Lord Temple would have reduced it to 300,000*l.* Lord Holderness pleaded his Majesty's noble refusal of a neutrality for Hanover, and the claim he had to assistance. Lord Temple would have restricted the money to English purposes. The Duke of Bedford supported the motion of the court, reflected on Pitt's all-sufficience, and the address passed without a division. In the other house it occasioned a good debate, though no division. Nugent expatiated on the King's merit to Britain: that he had said, "While Europe is in danger, Hanover shall not be safe." Pitt dropped several artfull sentences, hostile to those that had been or might be ministers, convertible into excuses for himself, if he should again become a minister. He said, he should not oppose the gross sum upon any foot but on the gift being offerred without an iota of restriction: that indeed he had predicted his own fate when he acted on the restrictive plan: that he would support whoever had contributed to set this government going again: that every body was free to speak his sentiments on this measure, for no man could tell who would be minister, who would be trusted with this million: that if it was to be confined to Great Britain and America, he would consent to give a million: but now this might be dispensed to the troops of Hanover, though we had already given them 200,000*l.* He had heard of his own all-sufficience; he knew our insufficience. This might be the plan of a few great lords who did not mind tossing in one or two hundred thousand pounds more: but the people had lost all confidence,

'Vote of a million.'

seeing how surreptitiously their money was taken and given. 1757.
He would not ask a question on the victory, the news of which May.
were arrived that morning—he did not wish to relax, because 'Vote of a million.'
the King of Prussia was succesfull:—that King, who saw all, did all, knew all, did every thing, was every thing! If you would deal with such great masses, and not take little things, and think they would make a great one, there might still be hopes—don't go on subsidizing little princes here and there, and fancy that all together they will make a King of Prussia. That Prince had never asked a subsidy, at least while he had had any part in the administration; yet had raised the spirits of every body, who hoped for a decent end of the war; for they were offensive operations that must bring about a peace. For the King, he said, though his Majesty did not serve so absolutely for nothing as the King of Prussia did, nor were the coffers of Hanover so exhausted but they might stop a gap till next winter, yet their Majesties had gone hand in hand together: but he dreaded the war being transferred to Flanders —*he had rather feed it in Germany.* If the King's Hanoverian ministers had been negligent in their preparations, this victory would not repair their remissness: the Duke's authority must fetch up their negligence. He hoped the ministers would not go to market this summer for German Princes, with whom we should find ourselves hampered next winter. Had any illumination broken in upon that poor piddling plan, which carried the approbation of a whole nation along with it? The King of Prussia with 170,000 men was worth giving one or

1757. May. two hundred thousand pounds to—but don't let a *conciliabulum* of ministers, when they happen to dine together, settle another subsidiary plan, at once minute and extravagant. Were he minister, he would have deprecated this measure, nay, would have said more against it, than he would say in the House of Commons. He added some hints on his own popularity, and on the independence of the country gentlemen who favoured him. Fox took up some of Pitt's expressions: if a *conciliabulum* might not decide our measures, he hoped at least *one* man should not dictate them. With regard to independence, he supposed every man there was independent—but who were these particularly applauded for their independence? Were they those, who, two years ago, lay under the irremissible crime of being Tories? or, who this year had the unknown merit of being so? These and other taunts drew on some warmth. Conway too offended Pitt by vindicating the Duke of Devonshire, whom Pitt had seemed to censure as concerned in what he called *this surreptitious vote of credit*. Lord George Sackville naturally closed with Pitt, when Conway seemed to debate with Fox:—Charles Townshend and Lord Egmont had another squabble; and at last the million was voted. In one of the debates at this time Pitt talked much on Ximenes, who, he afterwards owned to Fox, was his favorite character.

'The million voted.'

Another bill, brought in by George Grenville on a good-natured principle, called out the passions and feelings of men at this extraordinary crisis. It was the custom in the navy

1757. May. 'Bill regulating payment of seamen's wages.'

not to pay punctually the wages of the seamen, but to keep back some part, lest the natural profuseness of that wandering people should disperse them as often as they were masters of a little sum. Grenville proposed more frequent terms of payment. The superiors of that class in the House of Commons, who, according to the nature of mankind, liked that others should endure what they had endured, and who are apt to attribute their own proficience to an education under which they had begun with suffering, had opposed this compassionate reformation; and indeed the profession were but too well founded in the advantages resulting from the established hardships! Fox divided against the bill, though without speaking; and it was carried in that house by above 60 to 42. When it came to the Lords, it was warmly opposed by Lord Winchelsea. The Duke of Bedford, too honest to be always biassed by faction, supported it against his friends, as he had the Militia Bill. Lord Denbigh, a man whose parts were better than his character, spoke out in very plain terms: he said, he should be for measures, not men: good measures he would support, whoever proposed them, be his name William, Holles, or even *Harry*—and observing all the bishops withdrawn but two, he supposed, he said, they were gone to dinner —he hoped they would not return to vote! The Dukes of Newcastle and Devonshire, Lord Hardwicke, and many others had retired, which gave but too fair a handle for that satire on the bench. The bill was rejected by 23 to 18.

The *inter-ministerium* (if I may be permitted to use a new

1757. May. 'Duke of Newcastle's irresolution.'

word on a new occasion; and truly as there never was such a being as the Duke of Newcastle, one may be allowed to describe him, his actions, and their consequences in a novel language), had now lasted seven weeks. On the last rupture of the treaty with Pitt, his grace thought he had determined to take the sole burthen of the state upon himself. He even sent his Majesty word that he would be at Kensington on the 24th, and would declare his final resolution—but he put the King off; he had fixed on nothing—and while he prevented any other man from having power, his own idea of being minister was in a manner answered. Lord Lincoln, Lady Catherine Pelham, and Lord Ashburnham, the private chorus, that had not the less part in the drama for being cyphers, earnestly dissuaded him from coming in again without an union with Leicester-house. To advise him to be governed by his fears, was governing him. He reverted to another interview with Pitt at Lord Royston's, where Lord Hardwicke was present. Pitt, who the more he foresaw incompliance on the Duke's part, knew how much more grace he should wear (if forced to come to public explanation), by stipulating some advantages to his country, asked if they meaned to send abroad any part of the new-granted million, as Lord Granville and Fox had declared for doing. Newcastle said, he was not bound by their declarations—and you, Mr. Pitt, you are not bound against sending any of it, are you? Pitt replied, he was; and you, my lord, though you are not *bound* to send any more money abroad, are not you inclined to it? Newcastle

1757. May.

would not explain. Lord Hardwicke proposed to wave this point, *ad referendum;* knowing how easily they should settle the nation's concerns, if they could agree upon their own. They then passed to the article of chancellor of the exchequer. Pitt urged, that he had had it before for one of his friends; Newcastle, that it would mark his having no power at the treasury. Neither would yield. Even on the first lord of the admiralty Newcastle haggled, pretending the King would not be brought to dismiss Lord Winchelsea. They parted in discontent; though the duke, in all his messages by the primate, Lord George Sackville, and others, had promised how reasonable he would be. This was exactly the manner in which he had formerly treated Fox, departing from his own concessions before he had time to ratify them. Lord Hardwicke behaved more uniformly; declared he would not take the seals again; desired nobody should be displaced for him; if the presidentship of the council, or the privy seal should be vacant, he would gladly accept either: for Lord Anson he peremptorily insisted on the treasurership of the navy. Pitt now found his error; by facilitating Newcastle's escape from the inquiries, he remained at the mercy of that duke, not the duke at his.

'Rupture of negotiation between Pitt and Newcastle.'

May 27th.—The Duke of Newcastle did go to Kensington, and after a long audience, promised to be sole minister, permitting Fox to be paymaster, but with no power. Sir Thomas Robinson was to be secretary of state, Sir George Lee, chancellor of the exchequer. Hume Campbell modestly asked the

1757. May. Duke of Newcastle's projects and difficulties.

treasurership of the navy * under this ministry, in addition to his office of lord register—and probably would have had it, or something equivalent: Newcastle's greatest want now was of men who would take any thing to support him. Lord Egmont was much sollicited to be of the band; but he, the great opposer of the Duke of Cumberland and Fox, would have stipulated for more power to the latter, and did insist on a peerage for himself, which would have destroyed his whole utility: it was not in the placid House of Lords that Newcastle expected to be worried. The Duke of Dorset was to be displaced (for Lord George Sackville had been designed for Pitt's secretary at war), Lord Gower was to be master of the horse, and Lord Hardwicke privy seal. The Duke of Newcastle was to retire to Claremont for two or three days, and take a final inspiration from his oracles.

June 3d.—His Grace returned to Kensington, but still fluctuating; and begged to defer declaring his last resolution till the Tuesday following: this was on the Friday. Preposterous as this suspense of government was, it occasioned no disturbance, scarce a murmur. The people, hating Fox, neglected by Pitt, and despising Newcastle, waited with patience to see which of them was to be their master.

The next day was the birthday of the Prince of Wales.

* When he found another designation of that office, he demanded that Lord Edgcumbe should be removed, and the dutchy of Lancaster given to himself for life—yet he had said on the inquiries, on which he pretended to date his new merit, that it would be ungratefull in any man not to defend Newcastle; in him it would be infamous.

1757. June.

His Royal Highness was told, that it would have a gracious air with the people, if he took upon himself to facilitate measures for his grandfather's ease: that he must command Pitt to give up the point of George Grenville being chancellor of the exchequer. Pitt, who had heard how much he was loaded by the other factions with the accusation of impracticable haughtiness, yielded; and had a conference at the Prince's drawing-room with Newcastle and Lord Bute, who acted as mediator. Newcastle persisted that the King *would* retain Lord Winchelsea; and to balance the authority that he saw must fall to Pitt, said to him, "But you will not act with Fox"—Pitt replied, "My lord, I never said so—but does your Grace say you would? When you have said you will, I will consult my friends." Newcastle, not the most intelligible even when he was explicit, took care not to be understood sooner than he was determined; and the conversation ended abruptly:—however, on the 7th, though not agreed with Pitt, he went to Kensington, and declared to the King, that he could not come in, unless Mr. Pitt's whole plan was accepted. The King reproached him bitterly with all his shifts and evasions, and falshoods; and demanded his assistance for Fox, if he would not himself undertake the service. He waved any such promise, and the King dismissed him in wrath.

'Prince of Wales interferes to facilitate arrangements.'

Fox now took the merit of venturing all to support his Majesty, and declared he would accept the ministry—but it seemed almost impossible to form one, if Pitt was not to be of it, and Newcastle withheld his assistance. It was difficult

1757. June. 'Lord Waldegrave appointed first lord of treasury.'

even to know whom they should place at the head of the treasury. In this distress the King (probably by the suggestion of Mr. Fox), sent for Lord Waldegrave, and commanded him to accept that high and dangerous post. The public was not more astonished at that designation, than the earl himself. Though no man knew the secrets of government better, no man knew the manœuvre of business less. He was no speaker in parliament, had no interest there, and though universally beloved and respected where known, was by no means familiarized to the eyes of the nation. He declined as long as modestly became him; engaged with spirit, the moment he felt the abandoned state in which his master and benefactor stood.

A trifling incident showed the ridiculous light in which the new establishment appeared: it was the 8th of June when Fox's administration was notified: the House of Commons was very thin; Ellis came with an air of mysterious importance, and desired the house to adjourn to the 13th following. Lord George Sackville and George Townshend opposed this in joke, the latter saying that a bill of great consequence relating to Milbourn-port was to be considered that day; yet if Ellis would say that a ministry was to be formed during the proposed recess, he would consent to it. Ellis would say nothing; the house divided, Ellis with ten more against fifty-seven; and thus Fox lost a question even before he was minister.

The next day Lord Holderness went to Kensington and resigned the seals, as a declaration of the Newcastle squadron

against Fox. The King received him with the cool scorn he deserved*. Lord Rockingham and many others† notified their intention of resigning upon the same foot. Newcastle took pains to promote these resignations, and told Lord Northumberland that they caught like wildfire. The latter replied artfully, "I have great obligations to your Grace, but should think I repaid them very ill by resigning, as it would be contributing to make your Grace distress his Majesty." Indeed, to the King and others, the Duke solemnly forswore any knowledge of that measure; and while he enjoined or inculcated it to his friends, he prohibited it to Lord Lincoln and the Duke of Leeds, his relations, that he might tell the King that his own family had stood by his Majesty—a silly finesse, and blown up even by himself, he bragging to Lord Waldegrave of the display of his power in that measure, the very instant after he had denied it with oaths.

1757. June. 'Resignation of Newcastle's friends.'

One resignation was made on the other hand; Sir George Lee quitted the Princess, not brooking the influence of Pitt with her, and finding himself a cypher at that court, since Lord Bute had become more than minister there. Sir George had even once determined to make such a remonstrance to her on her conduct, as the fathers of the church had formerly assumed the impertinent familiarity of making to princes, in ages when insolence was reckoned a primitive virtue.

* It was but seven months since Pitt had insisted on the dismission of Lord Holderness, who now resigned against Pitt's rival, who had been his own associate at that time!

† Fox kissing hands was to be the signal.

1757. June. Author's advice to Fox.

Horace Walpole saw the precipice on which Fox stood, and wished to save him from it. He saw, too, an opening for delivering the nation from that disgracefull man (Newcastle), who had so long perplexed all its councils, and been a principal cause of its misfortunes. He sounded Lord George Sackville, and thinking him not ill-disposed to Fox, and by no means amicable to Newcastle, he proposed his plan to the former. It was, that the King should send *charte blanche* to Pitt, to place the Duke of Dorset at the head of the treasury, with Lord George for secretary at war, and, by dissolving the parliament, dissipate at once Newcastle's influence. Fox, who feared a popular election, disapproved the latter part, and did not relish Lord George in the war office, too sharp-sighted, and who, to the desertion of Fox, had added a refusal of making Calcraft agent to his regiment. However, he permitted Walpole to propose all this to Lord George, adding, that he would take paymaster (which seemed to be his nearest wish), under Pitt, or would even act under him without an employment, with the sole privilege reserved of abusing Newcastle as much as he pleased. Lord George Sackville owned he should have liked the plan, but was now too far engaged. He confessed he had taken his part, as the contest lay between Leicester-house and the Duke; and the rather, as he had long observed that the Duke loved none but men totally detached from all other connections, and had even been less kind to Conway since his marriage; and, as an insurmountable objection, said, that Lord Bute, who was of scrupulous honour, would now reckon their party bound by these resignations.

1757. June.

Thus this plan failed, though the King, whose aversion was diverted from Pitt to Newcastle, would have consented to any thing, that might make the treacheries of the latter fall on his own head.

Fox's junto met two or three times: Lord Granville would have infused his jovial intrepidity into them: Bedford wanted no inspired ardour; but Fox himself desponded, and Bedford reproached him with it.

June 11th.—Lord Mansfield went to Kensington with the exchequer seals, which Fox was to receive. The King asked the former his opinion; Lord Mansfield told him fairly it could not do for Fox—then, said the King, "Let them make an administration." Fox and Lord Waldegrave both told him the impossibilities they found, yet would proceed if his Majesty insisted. He said, "No, he did not desire his friends should suffer for him: he found he was to be prisoner for the rest of his life: he hoped, whatever he might be made to do, his friends would not impute to him, for he should not be a free agent: he had not thought that he had so many of Newcastle's *footmen** about him: soon, he supposed, he should not be able to make a page of the back-stairs. For Hanover, he must give it up, it cost an hundred and twenty thousand pounds a month for forage alone: he found he must lose his

Lord Waldegrave's projected ministry abandoned. King's reluctant acquiescence.

* He used this expression again soon after. Making Lord Orford lord lieutenant of Norfolk, he told him, he was of a family that had always stood by him; hoped *he* would too, and not behave like *those footmen of the Duke of Newcastle*.

1757. June. electoral dominions for an English quarrel; while at the same time he lost all authority in England!"

Leicester-house took advantage of these difficulties: they engaged Lord Chesterfield to negotiate between Newcastle and Pitt. The earl, who had lived for some time retired from business, undertook the embassy. It seemed a marvellous office for him, who had long broken with the latter, and had even in very cutting terms acquainted the world with his reasons for breaking with the former. But it seems he had still stronger prejudices to the Duke of Cumberland; he undertook the employ* with chearfullness and success.

On the 15th, the King wrote a note to Lord Hardwicke, desiring him, in consideration of the state of affairs both at home and abroad, to hasten some administration that might not be changed again in five months. He mentioned his promise of the pay-office to Fox, and his obligations to Lord Winchelsea. Lord Hardwicke promised to wait on his Majesty on the 17th with some plan; but the next day desired a day longer.

The new ministry settled.

At last, after an interval of above eleven weeks, the ministry was settled, and kissed hands on the 29th. The Duke of Newcastle returned to the treasury, with Legge for his chancellor of the exchequer. Pitt and Lord Holderness were secretaries of state. Lord Temple had the privy seal in the room of Lord Gower, who was made master of the horse, the Duke of Dorset being set aside, but with a pension of 3000*l.* a year, added to his wardenship of the cinque ports.

* [Sic in MS.] E.

On Lord George Sackville the King put a flat negative. Fox accepted the pay-office, professing great content, and that he should offend neither in thought, word, nor deed. Both Newcastle and Pitt acted wisely in permitting him to enjoy this place: he was tied up from giving them any trouble—and while serving for interest under Pitt, how much did it exalt the latter! Yet the latter, too, took care to deserve his share of reproach. Adjusting their list with Lord Hardwicke, Pitt said, he missed a very respectable name there, which he hoped would be placed greatly—it was Lord Anson's—and he was restored to the admiralty—whether with more opprobrium to himself, who returned to that board with Pitt's set, abandoning his own, who had been disgraced with him; or to Pitt, who restored so incapable an object to a trust so wretchedly executed, I am in doubt to determine. Who did act with honour and noble spirit, was Lord Winchelsea; he refused a pension, disdaining to accept any emolument, when his associates were excluded. At that board he always acted with capacity, every where with firmness; and was the only man, who in all these changes acquired credit both by his rise and by his fall. Lord Cholmondeley got a pension to make way for Potter: Lord Thomond had Lord Bateman's white stick, who, the Duke of Newcastle said arrogantly enough, should not carry his messages. Tennison was removed with a pension from the buck-hounds, ceding them to Lord Bateman. Pitt insisted that Pratt, a favourite lawyer at the bar of the House of Commons, should be attorney-general. Sir Robert Henley,

1757. June. 'New ministry.

1757. June. who could not decently be disgraced without any reason, was so lucky to find that that reason (and certainly there could be no other) was sufficient to promote him: he was made lord keeper. The seals had been offerred to Murray, and to the master of the rolls, who refused them, and to Willes, who proposed to be bribed by a peerage to be at the head of his profession; but could not obtain it. Henley, however, who saw it was the mode of the times to be paid by one favour for receiving another, demanded a tellership of the exchequer for his son, which was granted, with a pension of 1500*l.* a year till it should drop; and, as if heaping rewards on him would disguise his slender pretensions, Lord Hardwicke told him he must be speaker of the House of Lords too, for Westminster-hall would never forgive him (Lord Hardwicke) if he sufferred those offices to be disjoined. Sandys and his son were both laid aside. Hardwicke himself took no employment; the seals, which it was plain from his not resuming them, he had not resigned from meer friendship to Newcastle, were too great a fatigue; and no other of the great offices was vacant.

'Charge on the public.' It was no small mischief flowing from these disgracefull revolutions, the additional charge entailed on the public. Here were new pensions, of 3000*l.* a year to Dorset, near as much to Cholmondeley, 1500*l.* to Henley, 1200*l.* to Tennison; besides others more secret. Yet all this profusion of grants and concessions could not satisfy every body. The Townshends were furious: George, at any amnesty for Fox; Charles, at not being promoted himself. Lord Halifax, who demanded

to be secretary of state for the West Indies, a theatre on which Pitt meditated to shine himself, threw up on being refused—but, having outlived his income, was forced to re-accept, what, unless he had persisted, he had done more wisely to retain. The Duke of Bedford was warm against the new system, but was soon composed. The city too was indignant at the re-establishment of Lord Anson—but when the chiefs are accorded, the mob of a faction are little regarded. Men could not but smile observing Pitt return to court, the moment he had been made free of so many cities for quitting it, exactly as he accepted an employment there before old Marlborough was scarce cold, who had left him 10,000*l.* as a reward for his patriotism. 1757. June.

The King gave the garter to Lord Waldegrave, an almost unprecedented favour, as it was given alone—but he deserved it—and this act of royalty, almost the only flower of the crown unviolated, gave the King double satisfaction, for he had before given hopes of it to Lord Holderness, who being, like Lord Harrington, the meer creature of his Majesty's bounty, had, like Lord Harrington, been the first to insult his master with an offensive resignation. 'Lord Waldegrave has the garter.'

I here close the scene on these court squabbles; and perhaps have described them too minutely. Passages, in which one has been conversant, often appear too interesting. I can only say, that I have preferred offending in this extreme to the contrary. Nothing is more easy than to pass over what is too diffuse—but, as many men love these details, their curiosity would be unsatisfied with abridgments. Probably

1757. June. these anecdotes will amuse for some years, till they are lost in the mass of books, and when the affairs of this little spot, which we call Britain, shall appear of no more importance than our island itself in a geographic picture. To be read for a few years is immortality enough for such a writer as me!

A greater field was now opened. That formidable confederacy of France, Austria, Russia, and Sweden, seemed determined to inclose and crush the King of Prussia. The Duke of Cumberland, with the forlorn Hanoverian army, was a slight barrier against such alarming advances. Coloredo, the Austrian minister at London, was ordered to retire without taking leave; and as a farther earnest of their hostile intentions to England, Ostend and Nieuport were resigned into the hands of France. Count Daun, the Austrian Fabius, was sent with 45,000 men to raise the siege of Prague. The King of Prussia, too impetuous to await their cautious approach, flew with about 30,000 men to meet them; and finding Daun strongly entrenched on a hill, thought ardour and his name sufficient to dislodge them. He returned seven times to the attack after as many repulses, performed actions of extravagant bravery himself; and when forced at last by an impregnable situation, by superior numbers, and by equal valour, to abandon his purpose, he crowned the splendor of the enterprize by modestly confessing how unadvisedly he had undertaken it. He raised the siege of Prague, and retired to Leutmeritz. Daun had the good sense to know that his country was not to be saved by the rules of romance. Rashness might immortalize a monarch whose crown and life were at stake, and were at the

King of Prussia defeated by Daun.

same time less objects than his glory: a subject would be unpardonable, and of all subjects an Austrian had the least chance of pardon, who should suffer his fame to weigh one moment against his duty. 1757. June.

The French in the mean time advanced in such formidable numbers, that the Duke of Cumberland was obliged to retire and leave Hanover at their mercy. However, they came up with him at Hastenbecke, and a battle ensued. The duke never showed himself so able a general, and though exceedingly inferior in force, disputed his ground till the French, who had great difficulty to carry up their men to the charge, despaired of the victory. But fresh squadrons pouring in upon him, and more approaching, his royal highness, apprehensive of being inclosed, resigned the success, though not the glory, of the day to D'Etrées, who was happy to find his enemy take a step that he was deliberating whether it would not be prudent for him to take himself. The Hanoverian statesmen, in the wildness of their despair for the destruction of their country and of their fortunes, not caring whom they charged, accused *that* prince of timidity, whom all England had all his life accused of rash and German appetite for fighting: and the French with no less injustice decried their own victorious general, till Madame Pompadour and the courtiers took advantage to supplant him; and Richelieu was sent to become those laurels which had been earned by the best officer in their service. Battle of Hastenbecke.

The King almost sunk under this weight of misfortunes. That country, which with so much patriotism and so little

1757. June. 'King overwhelmed with the misfortunes of Hanover.'

prudence he had made the point in which his whole policy centered—that country now felt all the bitterness of desolation! Hanover, which so long had tasted the felicity of being conjoined to England, was now ravaged in an English quarrel. And unless we will suppose that his Majesty hoped to hire out his electoral troops to his crown in a contest which he flattered himself would never be agitated in Germany, one cannot conceive why with such improvident facility he had permitted the chancellor and Newcastle to bound into a war with France: a war undertaken from some provocation, with no preparation; and discussed with no more solidity, than the mob, whom it was made to captivate, could have employed. The French had aimed at and proceeded to invade our settlements: we returned hostilities with as slight a force, as if we had only sent a herald to denounce war. We then seized their ships—and did nothing more—yes, we engaged some German mercenaries, as if the Duke of Newcastle had thought that the Rhine and the Ohio were the same river. Had we, like the French, waved expressions of war, till we had mustered a mighty force in America, where our superiority is exceedingly great; had we increased our navy before we seized theirs; had we at least imitated their arts as well as their invasions; we might have dictated in the new world, and lived without hostilities in the old. No wonder the King was overwhelmed with the explosion of such calamities and blunders—still he had deserved compassion; had he not shown, that, whatever his reflection suggested, his heart had no generous feelings—But of this anon.

1757. June. 'Leicester-house.'

The court at Leicester-house was very differently employed during these serious transactions. Hanover was lost; in North America our affairs went ill; England itself was in no flourishing condition. How did the Princess occupy the heir of all these domains? She was not Spartan enough to buckle on his armour with her own hands, and send him to save or reconquer what he was to govern. The light of the Gospel has emancipated mothers from such robust sensations. The Prince was instructed to commit the care of the temporal concerns of his subjects to Providence; and therefore instead of sending men, arms, ammunition, to the invaded frontiers of our colonies *; with more patriarchal vigilance his Royal Highness sent them an hundred pounds' worth of Leland's polemic writings against the Deists. The Princess herself bestowed an annuity of one hundred pounds on a young Scotch † clergyman, who having been persecuted by the kirk for writing a tragedy called Douglas, threw himself and his piece on the protection of the Earl of Bute.

I have said our affairs in North America went ill; it is very true: about this time came letters from the Earl of Loudun, the commander in chief there, who said, he found the French were twenty-one thousand strong; he had not so many, could not attack Louisbourg, should return to Halifax.

* This sarcasm is most unmerited and absurd. The Prince had no means of sending *men*, *arms*, and *ammunition*, nor was it any part of his duty to do so. Even if it had been, a regard for religion and literature, and some liberality in rewarding genius, are surely not incompatible with a due attention to public affairs. E.

† John Home.

1757. June. Admiral Holbourn, one of the sternest condemners of Byng, wrote at the same time, that he having but seventeen ships, and the French nineteen, he dared not attack them. These disappointments gave great disgust. Lord Loudun had been selected by the Duke and Fox for this command, and our expectations had been raised high of what he would perform. Here was another summer lost! Pitt expressed himself with great vehemence against the earl—and we naturally have too lofty ideas of our naval strength to suppose that seventeen of our ships are not a match for any nineteen others.

Disturbances on the Militia Bill.

At home there were great disturbances on the new militia bill. Lord Hardwicke and the lords, meaning to defeat it, had clogged it with impracticabilities, absurdities, and hardships; particularly, by obliging every poor man to pay ten pounds, or find a substitute, or go for a soldier; and yet he would be liable to serve again at the end of three years. This was a tax of above three pounds a year. Nor was any fund provided for the expences of carrying the act into execution. These objections gave sufficient handle to the disaffected to decry the system: the Tory gentlemen in particular, apprehending that the Whigs would acquire influence in their counties by the articles of cloathing, &c. used their utmost endeavours to prepossess the country against the bill. They inculcated into the people a belief that they would be trepanned to Gibraltar, like the two Somersetshire regiments that I formerly mentioned; and that whoever should give in his name, would to all intents and purposes become a soldier for life. This misrepresentation had too fatal effect The peasants

became refractory beyond measure; riots were raised in several counties, as Surrey, Kent, Leicester, Hertford, Bedford, Nottingham, and York shires. The lists were forced by violence from the magistrates; Lord Robert Sutton was in danger of his life at Nottingham; the Duke of Bedford's house, near Bedford, was threatened to be demolished, as he had been the first to advertize for a meeting. The Blues were ordered down to his defence; and it was worth observation, that the standing army was employed to impose upon the people a constitutional force. His grace threatened to carry the act into execution with a high hand, but on the day of the meeting he adjourned it to December, when he knew he should be in Ireland. The Duke of Dorset was attacked at Knowle, but saved by a young officer, who sallied out and seized two and twenty of the rioters. The Speaker himself was insulted at Guilford, and menaced in his own house at Ember-court, and could not disperse the insurrection but by promising no farther steps should be taken till the next session of parliament. But the greatest indecencies were committed by the family of Townshend. George, the author of the militia, was on very ill terms with his father, who was as wrong-headed as his son, and more mad. They wrote abusive pamphlets against one another; and the father, attended by a parson and a few low people, began a mob on the day the meeting for the militia was to be held, and pasted up one of his own libels on the doors of four churches nearest to his seat.

1757. June. Riots on Militia Bill.

Under these difficulties Mr. Pitt began to exert his new-

1757. June. 'France.'

acquired power, and to give symptoms of more vigorous government. France, notwithstanding her imposing airs, and our feeble and spiritless conduct, had carried no great point against us. Her finances were in disorder, her marine not respectable, the flower of her armies transported to Germany. Their king threw a damp on all operations: melancholic, apprehensive of assassination, desirous of resigning his crown, averse to the war from principles of humanity, perplexed by factions, and still resigned to the influence of his mistress, every measure was confirmed by him with reluctance or obtained by intrigues; yet they had imprinted such terrors of invasion upon us, that Mr. Pitt, concluding their own coasts might be ill-provided, while they menaced ours, determined to strike a hardy stroke, that should at once invert the system of fear, and restore our reputation by carrying the war into the quarters of the enemy.

There was a young Scot, by name Clarke, ill-favoured in his person, with a cast in his eyes, of intellects not very sound, but quick, bold, adventurous. At the siege of Berg-op-zoom being pursued into a house where the enemies fired at him through a door, he opened it and told them he was related to Marshal Lowendahl, who would reward them for saving him. Being conducted to the marshal, with the same readiness he avowed the deceit, urging that he had no other method of saving his life. Lowendahl was pleased with the man, and gave him money. Not rising in England to his expectation, he attempted to advance himself in Ireland under the Duke

of Devonshire; where miscarrying too, he imputed his disappointment to Mr. Conway, who equally incapable of disserving any man, or of enduring a false imputation, took Clarke to task, and convinced him of his error. Clarke, in the interval of some of these adventures, had rambled into France, and passing through Rochfort, observed a bank to which there was no ditch, and one part of the fortification left quite open. The adjacent country, called Little Holland, was flat, and cut with dykes, but which he persuaded himself were easily passable. Four years had passed since he made these remarks, and that in a time of profound peace. He did not pretend to know the strength of the garrison, nor what troops were stationed on the coast since the declaration of war—and unfortunately a plan of the place procured by the late Lord Albemarle from the King's closet, since Clarke's survey, differed from his description. Yet communicating these observations to Mr. Pitt, the latter was captivated with the idea. The man and the project struck his notions of performing some action of *eclat*, that might revive our sinking affairs, and throw a lustre on the dawn of his own administration. Rochfort lies ten miles from the sea: of late years we had dealt exceeding scantily in intelligence. No measures were, possibly could not in time be, taken to obtain better information of the dispositions in and near the place. Pitt indeed was a minister to execute daringly; there wanted some men of deeper cast to deliberate wisely. He would not lose time on taking advice; the secret might evaporate; and its fairest chance for success lay in the

1757. July. Expedition to Rochfort

1757. July. 'Expedition to Rochfort.'

improbability that the French should suspect an attempt on one of the most important and strongest towns in France. But did not that very improbability intimate, that they, so provident about their frontier towns, could not have neglected Rochfort, one of their principal naval magazines? Objections to a genius are but spurs. The cabinet council was called: Pitt proposed his conception of surprizing Rochfort, and of burning the ships that lay in the river leading to it. The procrastinators in the cabinet had but too lately felt his fire to oppose what they saw was a favorite plan. It was determined to be executed forthwith; and the execution offerred to Lord George Sackville, who, too sagacious not to feel the impracticability, excused himself, pleading the averseness of the Duke to him, and therefore that he should not be supported. The excuse was flimzy; the persons who offered him the command, would have supported him the more for his disfavour with the Duke. Lord George was still more blameable in talking of the design to several persons after he had refused to undertake it: and yet though a large number were acquainted with it, the secret was kept from the public with uncommon fidelity.

Sir John Mordaunt and General Conway, then encamped in Dorsetshire, were summoned to town, and acquainted by the cabinet-council with the service on which they were to be sent: they should take ten old battalions, a strong fleet should be ready in a fortnight to convoy them; they were to attempt Rochfort, or any other place on the coast to which they should

find an opening. The generals felt the difficulty of the commission, saw the croud of impediments that must arise, and the ignorance of those that foresaw none. Conway, as he told me himself, was satisfied he had given such indisputable proofs of his courage, that it could not be imputed to fear, if he discovered repugnance to the service—whatever might be imputed to him, he was determined honestly to speak his opinion. He asked if they would venture ten of our best battalions on so rash a hazard? If they should perish, would it not draw the French hither, where we had few other veteran troops? He asked, on being told the ramparts were to be scaled, if their height was known? Ligonier, who was present, replied, No, but they never were above twenty-five feet; and they should have ladders high enough. Pitt said, in case they failed, they might go to Bourdeaux. Lord Anson informed him how far that city lay up the river—and it *was* information, for he knew not. Was it probable, Conway asked, that a place of that high importance should be neglected? and he showed them the contradictions in their own reasoning, for they pretended that it was a measure calculated to disembarrass the Duke, by drawing off the troops of France to its own coast, and yet all the hope of the enterprize depended on the French being taken unprepared. Pitt was too sanguine to desist for a little confutation: the instructions were drawn, the transports prepared. At first, Conway had been designed to command alone, but the King said he was too young, and insisted on joining Mordaunt with him. Mordaunt had been re-

1757. July 'Expedition to Rochfort.'

1757. markable for alertness and bravery, but was much broken both in spirit and constitution, and fallen into a nervous disorder, which had made him entreat last year not to be sent to America, lest it should affect his head, and bring on disorders too familiar to his family. But though he and Conway had ill conceit of the service in question, they had both too much honour to decline it. When their representations failed, all they could was to demand specific orders; and not obtaining them, they drew up queries, which if the ministry could not answer, the generals hoped they should be justified in not performing what they foresaw was impracticable. But neither in this did they receive satisfaction.

'Expedition to Rochfort.'

September. The measure was settled in July; but it was the 8th of September before the fleet sailed. The French, though they did not learn the specific spot of destination, had ample time for preparation; and having a chain of garrisons along the coast, and being never totally destitute of supernumerary troops, hoped to be able to draw together a sufficient body wherever the storm should fall. As the event occasioned much discourse, I shall be excusable for detailing it; yet I shall do it with brevity; and, as much proceeded from the personal characters of the commanders, I shall describe them shortly, and with the more satisfaction, as their faults flowed from no want of courage—on the contrary, they possessed amongst them most of the various shades of that qualification. Mordaunt, as I have said, had a sort of alacrity in daring, but from ill health was grown more indifferent to it. He affected

1757. September. 'Officers employed on expedition to Rochfort.'

not Mr. Pitt, and from not loving the projector, was more careless than he should have been of the success of the project, presuming, unfortunately for himself, that if it should appear impracticable, the original mover would bear the blame. Conway, secure of his own intrepidity, and of no ostentation, could not help foreseeing that from the superiority of his talents to those of Mordaunt, the good conduct of the expedition would be expected from him. The more answerable he thought himself, the more he guarded against objections. Cold in his deportment, and with a dignity of soul that kept him too much above familiarity, he missed that affection from his brother officers, which his unsullied virtues and humanity deserved; for he wanted the extrinsic of merit. Added to these little failings, he had a natural indecision in his temper, weighing with too much minuteness and too much fluctuation whatever depended on his own judgment. Cornwallis was a man of a very different complexion: as cool as Conway, and as brave, he was indifferent to every thing but to being in the right. He held fame cheap, and smiled at reproach. General Howard was one of those sort of characters who are only to be distinguished by having no peculiarity of character. Under these was Wolfe, a young officer who had contracted reputation from his intelligence of discipline, and from the perfection to which he had brought his own regiment. The world could not expect more from him than he thought himself capable of performing. He looked on danger as the favorable moment that would call forth his talents. Sir Edward Hawke com-

1757. September. manded the fleet, a man of steady courage, of fair appearance, and who even did not want a plausible kind of sense; but he was really weak, and childishly abandoned to the guidance of a Scotch secretary. The next was Knowles, a vain man, of more parade than real bravery. Howe, brother of the lord of that name, was the third on the naval list. He was undaunted as a rock, and as silent; the characteristics of his whole race. He and Wolfe soon contracted a friendship like the union of a cannon and gunpowder.

'Isle of Aix.' September 20th.—The fleet appeared off the isle of Oleron; but it was the 23d before they got in. Knowles, the vice-admiral, with his division was ordered to attack the little isle of Aix. Howe, who led this detachment, sailed up with a steady magnanimity without firing till within pistol-shot of the fort. Greaves followed, and Keppel pressed forward to get in between them: Knowles kept a little more distant. Howe began a dreadfull fire, and in less than two hours the garrison surrendered. Conway pressed them to proceed immediately on some farther enterprize, and proposed directly to go and consult Sir Edward Hawke, who lay more out at sea. Knowles replied, that he was so fatigued that he could not go till next morning; when he reposed himself till ten. When Conway got him to Sir Edward Hawke's ship, they found Sir Edward had sent Broderick with their only pilot to see where they could land—and these men did not return till noon. Mordaunt appeared incapable of forming any opinion, and said he was ready to take any officer's advice. In this dilemma

1757. September. 'Council of war.'

they called a council of war. In their deliberation it appeared, that Clarke, and Thierri, a French pilot, had not seen Rochfort in three years and half: it was longer since the latter was there: that the nature of the road of Basques, the country, the state of the troops and garrison, were entirely unknown to them: that the expedition had been projected on the sole footing of a surprize, a view now entirely vanished, for our troops had lain near two months in the Isle of Wight, and many letters and neutral vessels had been intercepted, which spoke the alarm spread along the coast: that no man of war could lie within two miles of the landing to assist that or secure a retreat; and that if the wind came to the west, as was usual at that season, all communication with the fleet would be cut off; a point recommended to them to guard against by the express instructions of Marshal Ligonier: that there were sand-hills on the shore equivalent to an entrenchment, from behind which a small body of men might prevent a descent of 2000 men, the most the boats could contain at a time; and that even more troops than were sufficient for that purpose had been seen by the captains who went to sound and reconnoitre the coast: and what was even more discouraging than all these impediments, the chief engineer declared that they had not brought artillery sufficient for a regular attack. As to Rochfort, many difficulties were foreseen from the state of the place; and considering how long the fleet had lain off the coast, it was highly probable that not only the approach was guarded in a manner to have

1757. September. Council of war.

our troops cut to pieces, as they must have landed in small divisions; but that a strong garrison must have been thrown into the place, if not provided with one before. Bonville, a French volunteer, declared there were sluices with which they could flow the place all round; and he and the pilot of the Neptune had seen the ditch full of water. The dock-men were numerous, and five ships lay in the river, whose crews amounted to near 3000 men; besides the militia of the country. We should have been two days marching to the place, and could have carried up to it but 7400 men. The nights were as light as day; and a letter found in a priest's house at Aix, dated from Rochfort on the 18th, spoke expressly of the precautions the governor had taken.

No reasonable man could hope to surmount all these difficulties. Those, who had carried the same opinion from home with them, were not likely to find the objections weaker when mustered together on the spot. Both land and sea concurred in voting the surprizal of Rochfort impracticable—and then would have returned to England—but Conway, who the evening before had proposed to make themselves masters of Fouras, a little fort on the shore, where, when once established, they might examine what farther damage could be done to the enemy, persuaded the council that it was necessary to do something before they retired. To that they all agreed, except Cornwallis, who had seen no attainable object, or none worth attaining, from the beginning to the end of the plan. Yet, that he might not stand single in a vote for retreating,

he was induced to acquiesce:—however, Sir Edward Hawke's secretary, who took the minutes of the deliberation, inserted Cornwallis's real opinion into their votes, and without reading them to the council, sent them to the English Admiralty, by whom they were shown to the King; and what Cornwallis's associates had advised him to depart from, lest it might turn to his prejudice, was, after their return, construed into the only sensible opinion. Conway renewed his proposal of an attack on Fouras, as, when once entrenched there, they might with more preparation march to Rochfort: or at least from thence hope to burn the five ships and the magazines on the Charente. Nobody approved the scheme. In these discussions three or four days were wasted. Conway perpetually pressed for some action—at last Mordaunt said carelessly, "Aye, let us go stretch our legs on the Isle of Oleron." Conway said, a feigned diversion towards the Isle of Rhee would be more adviseable; it would draw the French troops, who by this time must be alarmed, to that side; and then some surprize might be practicable. To this the rest would not agree. Conway then offerred to make a real attack on the Isle of Oleron: they disputed on it till two in the morning; and though the first proposal had come from the others, he could not obtain their acquiescence. They wasted time even in dining; Sir Edward Hawke's table lasted till late in the evening. Conway's * importunity at last prevailed for an

1757. September.

'Conway proposes an attack on Fouras.'

* He himself took a cutter and twenty marines and went to survey the coast. A battery fired on them; and one of the rowers said, "Sir, we are in great

1757. September. Attack on Fouras fails.

attack on Fouras; and all the generals, to show that want of spirit had not operated in their councils, resolved to be present. The first division embarked, but being moonlight, and the nights clear, and the wind turning against them, Howe himself told them it was not safe at that time; and Wolfe pronounced it would be bloody work. They were ordered back from their boats. Yet Conway persisting for an attempt on Fouras, Mordaunt offered to undertake it, if Conway would take the advice solely on himself. Conway, eager for the danger, was averse to being the author of it. Mordaunt then artfully desired him to relinquish proposing it. Neither to that would he yield. Mordaunt sollicited him with strange earnestness, either to abandon the project, or to undertake it as his own; Mordaunt offering to share the danger of the execution, not of the opinion. Conway at last said, if Mor-

danger." He replied cooly, "Pho, they can't hurt us;" and turning to young Fitzroy * (from whom I received this relation), he said, "Now if they would not say I was boyish, I would land with these twenty marines, to show them we can." I have already mentioned his gallant behaviour at Fontenoy, at Laffelt, and at Culloden, at the first of which battles he was taken prisoner; but I cannot help repeating an unsuspected, because disinterested testimonial in his favour. When this miscarriage at Rochfort made so much noise, and the courage of the generals was questioned, Lord Chesterfield said to Mr. Fox these words; "I am sure Conway is brave; I remember when I was praising George Stanhope (a young man of remarkable spirit, brother of Earl Stanhope), he replied, Faith, my lord, I believe I have as much courage as other people; indeed, I don't pretend to be like Harry Conway, who walks up to the mouth of a cannon with as much coolness and grace, as if he was going to dance a minuet."

* Charles, afterwards Lord Southampton.

daunt would call Wolfe and any other man, and they would advise him to advise the attack, he would; or if they advised him to desist from proposing it, he would—but either Mordaunt declined—in truth, it was a contest to be pitied rather than blamed: both saw the rashness of the project, to which they were willing to sacrifice themselves and their soldiers. Mordaunt, from esteem of Conway's abilities, hoped to be excused if he executed what the latter advised—and the latter was too happy in not being commanding officer, to take that charge on himself in a hopeless bravado. Conway then proposed to submit to the same alternative from the opinions of Cornwallis and Howard; to which the general acquiesced; and they, as he foresaw, concurring with him, Conway submitted, but desired they would observe, he acquiesced against his opinion—and it was determined to return, Sir Edward Hawke having often pressed the generals to come to some resolution, the bad season approaching so near that he could not venture to keep the great ships much longer at sea. Wolfe and Howe had born the dilatoriness of the chief commanders with indignation; yet seeing the minute lost, made no objection to a retreat; and the fleet arrived at Portsmouth October 3d—in the meantime many important events had happened.

1757. September. October. 'Expedition fails.'

In the East Indies, the fleet, under Admiral Watson, retrieved the damages inflicted on our settlements by a new nabob, of which we had received notice in the preceding June. That viceroy had seized Cossimbuzar and Calcutta—

Affairs in the East Indies.

1757. September. the cruelties exercised on the factory in the latter place, where 170 persons were crammed into a dungeon, and stifled in the most shocking torments of heat, will not bear to be described to a good-natured reader. Watson was seconded by Captain Clive, one of those extraordinary men, whose great soul broke out under all the disadvantages of an ugly and contemptible person.

Victory of the Prussians over the Russians.

In the north of Germany affairs had taken a favorable turn for the King of Prussia. Lehwald, one of his generals, defeated a mighty army of Russians, who, in the most barbarian style, were pouring into Prussia. The Germans, whatever they pretended, were not cheaply conquerors. But the consequences of the battle were decisive; the Muscovites disappeared from the campaign for the rest of the summer.

The Duke of Cumberland, after the battle of Hastenbecke, had retired with his army towards Stade, and was followed by the French. The dutchies of Bremen and Verden were at the eve of falling into their hands; and the King expected that they would be given back to Sweden. The Hanoverian ministry did not doubt but the Duke's high spirit would venture the army being cut to pieces rather than surrender them prisoners; and they complained of the scanty assistance afforded by England. Lady Yarmouth even said to Lord Hertford, "*Que peut on faire, my lord! le ministere Anglois ne nous a voulu donner que quelque tonneaux de farine.*" The truth was, the King, to avoid expence, had neglected to raise the militia of Hanover, though they had implored it, and might

have given a decisive turn to the battle in his favour. Both the sovereign and his German council were determined at all events to save the dutchies and the troops, and the most positive orders were dispatched to the Duke in consequence of those resolutions. Yet not trusting to what conditions his son, however obedient, might obtain, his Majesty prevailed on his son-in-law, the King of Denmark, to interpose his good offices; and accordingly, on the 7th of September, Count Lynar, governor of Oldenburgh, arrived in the Duke's camp as mediator, and a passport being demanded for him from Marshal Richelieu, the latter sent it with an escort of an hundred horse; and by the next day a convention was obtained and signed, by which Stade and the district round it was left to the Hanoverians, with permission to the rest of those troops to repass the Elbe, observing a strict neutrality. The troops of Hesse, Brunswic, Saxe-gotha, &c. in the King's pay, were to retire to their several countries.

1757. September

Convention of Closter Seven.

When the news of this suspension of arms arrived at Kensington, it occasioned the greatest surprize, the greatest clamour —for even the monarch acted surprize! The foreign ministers acquainted those of England that it was concluded, or certainly would be. The English with great truth disavowed all knowledge, and protested entire disbelief of it. They not only had not been entrusted with the secret, but saw their master affect equal indignation; and encouraged by that dissimulation, ventured to insist on his permitting them to write to foreign courts that he disavowed the transaction. Even

1757. September. 'King disavows the convention of Closter Seven.'

this he granted: he went farther; he told Dabreu, the Spanish minister, that he would show him the rough draught of a letter which he had prepared to send to his son with a positive command to fight. It was true, he had written such a letter: it is no less true that he never sent it.

As the dictator of the convention disavowed it, as the father disclaimed the son, it was natural for those who suffered by the act, and for those who hated the actor, to break out against both. The King of Prussia said we had undone him, without mending our own situation. The Princess of Wales, Lord Hardwicke, and Legge, threw the strongest reflections on the Duke; the last indeed with appearance of reason, being extremely hampered, as chancellor of the exchequer, by this transaction. How should he be able, he said, next winter to propose the Hessian troops, whose hands were now tied up from assisting us? or must he wave the subsidy to them, when they were starving in our cause? The others went farther; they called his Royal Highness's generalship in question; he was brave indeed, but that was all; he had wasted a good army; had beaten the French, and did not know it. But the most indecent in personal invectives was Baron Munchausen, the Hanoverian minister in England—a man, reckoned one of their ablest heads, and who had hitherto always comported himself with civility and inoffensively. He went so far as to call for a council to examine the Duke's behaviour; and Lord Hardwicke, to extend the insult, or to divide it amongst many, desired the whole cabinet council, not merely the junto, might

meet; the affair was too serious. Thither Munchausen brought copies of his own letters to the Duke, to prove that his Royal Highness had acted without authority. Mr. Pitt observed, that they proved the direct contrary: and he, who certainly had never managed the Duke, nor stood on any good terms with him, acted a part nobly honest: when the King told him that he had given his son no *orders* for this treaty, Pitt replied with firmness, "But *full powers*, Sir, very *full powers*." Yet this sincerity in a foe could infuse none into a father: two messengers were dispatched to recall the Duke; and, October 12th, he arrived at Kensington. It was in the evening, and he retired to his own apartment, where Mr. Fox and his servants were attending. He thanked Mr. Fox for being there, and said, "You see me well both in body and mind: I have written orders in my pocket for every thing I did." (He afterwards said, his orders had been so strong, that he had not expected to obtain such good conditions). He then dismissed Fox, saying, he would send for him again. (The shortness of this interview, he afterwards told Mr. Fox, had proceeded from his determination of seeing nobody alone who could be supposed to advise him, till he had taken the step he meditated). At nine, the hour the King punctually goes to play in the apartment of Princess Emily, the Duke went to her. The King, who was there, and had ordered the Princess not to leave them alone, received him with extreme coldness; and when his Royal Highness went afterwards into the other room where the King was at cards, his Majesty said aloud,

1757. September. October. The Duke's return.

1757. October. 'Duke's reception at court, and conduct thereupon.'

"Here is my son, who has ruined me and disgraced himself." —And, unless this was speaking to him, spoke not a word. At eleven, when the cards were over, the Duke went down to Lady Yarmouth, and told her, the king had left him but one favour to ask, which he was come to sollicit by her interposition, as he wished to make it as little disagreeable to the King as possible—it was to desire leave to resign every thing, the post of captain-general, and his regiment. The countess was in great concern at the request, and said, "Pray, Sir, don't determine this at once." He replied, "He begged her pardon; he was not come for advice—he had had time to think —and was determined." "Then, Sir," said she, "I have nothing left, but to obey." The King received the notification with as much real agitation, as he had counterfeited before. The next morning he ordered the cabinet council to wait on the Duke, and pay their respects to him. Lord Holderness went in first, and kissed his hand, but was not spoken to. Pitt followed; and of him his Royal Highness took most notice, speaking to him at different reprisals with kindness, to mark his satisfaction with Pitt's behaviour. He said a little to the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Granville, and Lord Anson. Lord Hardwicke was out of town. The Duke of Devonshire was sent to the Duke in private to persuade him not to resign. He was inflexible. Devonshire was sent again to ask from the King as a favour that he would at least retain his regiment; he need not do the duty; but his Majesty should not think himself safe in any other hands—yet even this counterfeit

confidence was an aggravation of the cruelty—the duke learned that this sollicitude about the regiment proceeded solely from the King's averseness to give it to Prince Edward, as would be expected—and he was not softened by such duplicity. He even determined never to be employed under his father again; telling Fox, that no collusion about the treaty should be imputed to him, by his resuming his command. To Conway he said, he could not, did not hope that the King would do what was necessary to justify him; it was therefore necessary to do all he could to justify himself. The next day the Duke visited the Princess, and beginning to mention his resolution of resigning, she rung the bell, and asked him if he would not see the children.

1757. October. 'Duke's reception at court, and conduct thereupon.'

When the King found his son's resentment inflexible, he thought of nothing but making it as little uncomfortable to himself as possible: provided the interior face of the palace was not discomposed, he cared little about justifying himself, or making any reparation to his son; who, he thought, might as easily forget in the ceremonies of the drawing-room what he had sufferred, as his Majesty drowned all sensibility in the parade of that narrow sphere. He insisted that the Duke should appear as usual at court, and come to him in a morning. The Duke acquiesced, saying, he should always show the utmost respect to the King as his father, but never could serve him more. When these *essential* forms were adjusted, the Duke sent for Munchausen, and said, "Mr. Privy-counsellor, I hear the King has sent for opinions of Hanoverian

1757. October. generals on my conduct; here are the opinions of the Hessian generals and of the Duke of Wolfenbuttle. As the King has ordered the former to be deposited among the archives of Hanover, I hope he will do me the justice to let these be registered with them. Take them and bring them back to me to-morrow. Munchausen returned with them the next day, and with a message from the King that his Majesty had been better informed, and thought better of his royal highness than he had done; and then Munchausen falling prostrate to kiss the lappet of his coat, the Duke with dignity and anger checked him, and said, "Mr. Privy-councellor, confine yourself to that office; and take care what you say, even though the words you repeat should be my father's; I have all possible deference for him, but I know how to punish any body else that presumes to speak improperly of me."

The Duke resigns. On the 15th the Duke resigned all his commands.

I have dwelt minutely on the circumstances of this history, having learned it from the best authorities, and being sure that few transactions deserve more to be remembered. A young prince, warm, greedy of military glory, yet resigning all his passions to the interested dictates of a father's pleasure, and then loaded with the imputation of having acted basely without authority; hurt with unmerited disgrace, yet never breaking out into the least unguarded expression; preserving dignity under oppression, and the utmost tenderness of duty under the utmost delicacy of honour—this is an uncommon picture—for the sake of human nature, I hope the conduct of

the father is uncommon too! When the Duke could tear himself from his favorite passion, the army, one may judge how sharply he must have been wounded. When afterwards the King, perfidiously enough, broke that famous convention, mankind were so equitable as to impute it to the same unworthy politics, not to the disapprobation he had pretended to feel on its being made. In a former part of this history I have said with regard to his eldest, that the King might have been an honest man, if he had never hated his father, or had ever loved his son—what double force has this truth, when it is again applied to him on his treachery to the best son that ever lived! Considering with what freedom I have spoken of the Duke's faults in other parts of this work, I may be believed in the just praise bestowed on him here. 1757. October.

We must now turn our eyes to Ireland, which Mr. Conway had left in a state of perfect tranquillity. The imprudence of the new governors opened the wounds afresh. The Duke of Bedford set out for that kingdom on the 20th of September, determined, as he thought, to observe a strict neutrality between the factions, and rigid uprightness in the conduct of his administration. He began with exacting strict attendance on their posts from persons in employment, and with refusing leave of absence to officers and chaplains of regiments; and considering too how his new dominions had been loaded of late years to smooth the difficulties of the English government, his Grace commenced his reign with strong declamations against Irish pensions. He had two difficulties to encounter Affairs of Ireland.

1757. October. 'Ireland.'

before these fair views could be carried into execution: his own court were far from being so disinterested as their master, and his new subjects were as little desirous of a reign of virtue. Nor had the duke himself the art of reconciling them to it by his manner, which was shy, untractable, ungracious, ungenerous. The duchess pleased universally; she had all her life been practicing the part of a queen; dignity and dissimulation were natural to her. The Irish were charmed with a woman who seemed to depart from her state from mere affability. But the person who influenced them both was the secretary Rigby. He had ingratiated himself with the duchess, and had acquired an absolute ascendant over her husband, who, with all his impetuosity, was governed by his favorite in a style that approached to domineering.

Rigby had an advantageous and manly person, recommended by a spirited jollity that was very pleasing, though sometimes roughened into brutality: of most insinuating good breeding when he wished to be agreeable. His passions were turbulent and overbearing; his courage bold and fond of exerting itself. His parts strong and quick, but totally uncultivated; and so much had he trusted to unaffected common sense, that he could never afterwards acquire the necessary temperament of art in his public speaking. He had been a pupil of Winnington, and owed the chief errors of his life to that man's maxims, perniciously witty. Winnington had unluckily lived when all virtue had been set to notorious sale, and in ridicule of false pretences had affected an honesty in avowing whatever

was dishonorable. Rigby, whose heart was naturally good, grew to think it sensible to laugh at the shackles of morality; and having early encumbered his fortune by gaming, he found his patron's maxims but too well adapted to retrieve his desperate fortunes. He placed his honour in steady addiction to whatever faction he was united with; and from the gaiety of his temper having indulged himself in profuse drinking (for in private few men were more temperate) he was often hurried beyond the bounds of that interest which he meant should govern all his actions, and which his generous extravagance for ever combated. In short, he was a man, who was seldom loved or hated with moderation; yet he himself, though a violent opponent, was never a bitter enemy. His amiable qualities were all natural; his faults acquired, or fatally linked to him by the chain of some other failings.

1757. October. 'Ireland.'

In a court of such a complexion as I have described, no wonder the reign of virtue was violated in the outset. The Queen-dowager of Prussia, the King's sister, was lately dead: during the parsimonious barbarity of her husband, a pension of 800*l.* a year on Ireland had been privately transmitted to her; and she retained it to her death. The Duke of Bedford was persuaded to ask this for the duchess's sister, Lady Betty Waldegrave, and obtained it. His impartiality was as ill observed as his maxims of frugality. Rigby, sacrificing to what he concluded Mr. Fox's inclination, hurried the lord lieutenant into flagrant partiality to Lord Kildare. The primate was neglected; but knew how to make himself of consequence.

1757. October. Ireland.

The prostitution of his opponents had raised his character, and he omitted no address to conciliate popularity. Malone had at length accepted the office of chancellor of the exchequer; and being the last renegade, was the most obnoxious. Being regarded as minister in the House of Commons, the storm was intended to fall on him, for Rigby was not known as a man of business; and till Lord George Sackville affected the active part of power, and after him Mr. Conway, the lord lieutenant's secretary had been no character in parliament. The factions existing were, the Primate's, Lord Kildare's, those attached to the Speaker Ponsonby, and who in truth were a defection from Kildare; and a flying squadron of patriots; the smallest body of the four, and composed, as is usual, of the discontented, that is, of those who had been too insignificant to be bought off, or whose demands had been too high; and of a few well-meaning men. Lord Kildare had still the greatest number of dependents, though inferior to those of the Primate and Ponsonby, if united; a point * now eagerly pursued by the archbishop, while at the same time he underhand inflamed the patriots against the castle: and had sufficient success. The session no sooner opened, than French, a lawyer, proposed a trifling amendment to the address, but with indirect reflections on Malone, whom they endeavoured to make rise, and take the minister upon him; but he avoided

* Lord George Sackville, who was privy to this negotiation, and who hated the Speaker on former injuries, said, "Ponsonby is a dirty fellow; we have nothing to do but rub his nose against a Devonshire."

1757. October. 'Ireland.'

it, and sufferred the amendment. The next day one Upton, a warm and obstinate patriot, formerly a friend of Malone, moved for the list of pensions, on which Lady Betty Waldegrave's name must have appeared. Malone at last rose, and said, the motion was premature, for the list would be given in with the estimates. Upton, not being content with this answer, Malone moved to adjourn, the other threatening to renew his motion at their next meeting. And when he did repeat it, it was rejected but by a majority of five; an advantage so slender, that the Castle did not venture to stem a torrent of violent resolutions, which the house passed a few days afterwards against pensions, absentees, and other grievances, of which they demanded redress, desiring the lord lieutenant to transmit them to his Majesty in their very words. This heat was led by one Perry, a bold, troublesome, and corrupt lawyer, who had been vexatious to Mr. Conway, and between whom and Rigby there soon passed such warm altercations, that they were with difficulty prevented from going greater lengths. The duke, in answer to their resolutions, told them, they were couched in such extraordinary terms, and aimed so high, that he should take time to consider whether he would transmit them to England; and this answer Rigby moved to have entered in the journals, but desisted on finding great opposition. Both the duke and he acted with incredible intemperance; and intending to establish their authority by the weight of power, his grace sent to England for assistance, and demanded to be invested with a latitude of rewards

1757. October. 'Ireland.'

and punishments. The absentees were sent over to strengthen his party in the House of Commons; but the English council meeting upon his other demand, and not being composed of many of his friends, Mr. Pitt wrote him a civil excuse, with a refusal of full powers; if his grace would name whom he wished to displace or prefer, he should be supported: on the whole, he was advised to compose the heats that had arisen.

'State of parties.'

The primate no doubt had early intelligence from Lord George of the little attention paid to the lord lieutenant's remonstrance; but being disposed to govern the Castle rather than overturn them, he retired to his country seat at Leixlip, declaring his disapprobation of the violence of the commons; and the next day sent two of his creatures to the duke, to disavow any connections with the Speaker, and to profess his aversion to disturbing the government: in elections only against Lord Kildare and Malone he proposed to interfere. On the other hand, Lord Kildare protested that if the primate was left of the regency, he would not be of it. A menace most indifferent to the prelate, who could forgive any thing but exclusion from power, and who on his former disgrace had much resented the part his brother had acted in consenting to his being laid aside; and when it was notified to him, he broke out, "Now will my wise brother write me four sides to tell me it is all for the better." The dissimulation of the primate was soon detected: the Duke of Bedford, to oblige him, had preferred Cunningham in rank, who however voted against the court in the strongest questions. Yet continuing to

frequent the assemblies at the Castle, the duke took him aside, reproached him with his behaviour, and told him, the bread he eat was the King's. The young man replied honestly, he had such obligations to the primate and Lord George, that though he should be reduced to his pristine indigence, he would act in all things as they ordered him. Some days afterwards, the opposition calling in question the great powers exercised by the privy council of Ireland, and Malone sitting silent, the sollicitor-general, a friend of the primate, said, that, as an officer of the crown, he could not sit still and see the prerogative attacked, without marking his disapprobation. He was joined by all the primate's friends, and the motion for abridging those powers was rejected by 140 to 40. This more civil way of displaying to the Castle the primate's interest in the house, was not calculated to inspire them with less awe of his strength.

1757. October. 'State of parties in Ireland.'

Lord Kildare, (who had no talents for governing, and who yet would not unite with any body that had) declined Mr. Fox's advice of joining with the Speaker, by which he might have balanced the efforts of the primate. The earl thought of repelling the war by carrying it into the quarters of the enemy; and the Castle weakly concurred in this silly project. They determined to move for an inquiry into the conduct of the commissioners of the revenue for the last twenty years, in which the principal retrospect would involve the partizans of the house of Dorset. The execution of the measure was delegated to Sir Archibald Atcheson, a man so insignificant, that, having acquainted the

1757. October. Ireland.

house that he had a motion of consequence to propose on the following Monday, he was so little regarded, that, when the day came, the house was remarkably empty. The courtiers opposed the question, till Rigby rose and said, a motion from so respectable a person must be of consequence; the gentleman, he supposed, had some mismanagement to lay open. A secret committee was immediately proposed and elected by ballot, when, to the great confusion of the ministers, they carried but three out of thirty-one: the other twenty-eight were all elected from the creatures of the primate and Speaker. The Castle had no more success in the popularity they expected from this inquisition, than they had in the choice of the inquisitors. The lord lieutenant too increased the offence by his ungracious reception of the commissioners of the revenue, who waiting on him to disculpate themselves, as they feared they had been misrepresented to his grace, he answered them dryly, if any thing was wrong, he supposed it would come out; if innocent, they would clear themselves.

These transactions, which reached to the end of the year, I have chosen to throw together, as they would be little intelligible, if broken into the precise order in which they happened. I shall use the same method on the sequel of the expedition to Rochfort.

Inquiry into miscarriages at Rochfort.

As soon as the fleet was returned, Sir John Mordaunt was ordered to town to give an account of his conduct; and Mr. Pitt inserted in the gazette his letter to the general and admiral, empowering them to stay out longer if they should

find it necessary. This did not allay the ill humour in the city, where they coupled the fruitlessness of the expedition with the Hanoverian neutrality; and concluded that both flowed from the same attention to the preservation of the favorite Electorate. The ministers affected to distinguish the *naval* commanders. The generals were coldly received, particularly by the King, though he did speak to Conway; who however was so sensible of the injustice done to him, that, if he had not been overpersuaded by his friends, who foresaw that his resignation would be represented as a dismission, he would have immediately quitted his post in the King's bedchamber. His Majesty had at first been indifferent to the plan; then ridiculed it to all who came near him. Now, being in a humour of heroism and criticism, he took it up in the bitterest terms, and did the generals the honour of treating them as ill as his own son, the Duke, seizing every opportunity of casting reflections on the one and the others; and on the news of the King of Prussia's success, the monarch said, "Yes, people may beat, if they do not always retreat—but there are so many cowards, I am almost afraid of growing one myself." Pitt, though really more hurt, and apt enough to take any step to illustrate his own measures, behaved with greater decency. He pressed no violent resolutions against the officers; he prevented the city from addressing against them; and only took the more sensible, though not less severe style of punishing the miscarriage, by raising Wolfe at once over the heads of a great number of officers*.

1757. October. 'Inquiry into miscarriages at Rochfort.

* The conduct of one of his friends was not quite so judicious; Potter, then

1757. October. Sir John Mordaunt finding no notice taken of him in any shape, went to Mr. Pitt, and told him he had waited a week to see what would be done on his affair: he found he was in disgrace, but found it only by neglect and silence. He intreated Mr. Pitt to ask the King to permit an inquiry on it. Pitt told him, this had been thought of; owned they did blame the first council of war—but this was always the case when officers went prejudiced against a measure.

November. 'Inquiry into miscarriages at Rochfort.' Accordingly, November 1st, a commission of inquiry was directed, composed of the Duke of Marlborough, Lord George Sackville, and General Waldegrave: a court that could not be called unprecedented, for one of the very same nature had been held in the foregoing year, but most unconstitutional and dangerous; nay absurd, for they had neither power to acquit nor condemn. As the ministers selected whom they pleased, if the criminal was to be saved, a favorable report from this board would exclude a legal trial; if to be condemned, was not such a preparatory inquisition likely to influence future judgment? The present board was indeed artfully constituted. Two of the commissioners were attached to Fox; if their majority acquitted, the odium would fall on Mr. Pitt's antagonist—and to them he had joined Lord George Sackville, as much devoted to himself, and more than a balance to the other two in abilities. But another step

ill at Bath, sent the mayor of the place an account of a private letter he had received from Mr. Pitt, lamenting his disappointment, *which had broken his heart.* This letter was left for public perusal in a bookseller's shop, till getting into the Bath Journal, Potter thought proper to advertize that this had been done contrary to his intention.

Pitt took, still more novel, and as pernicious for the precedent. He sent Mr. Blair of the secretary's office to the Lord Mayor of London, to inform the city that an inquiry was appointed. What right the city of London had to such notification above all other towns in the kingdom could not well be told. What use they will make of such admission into the executive part of government can easily be conceived; and what confusion may follow from incorporating the mob of London with the other parts of the legislature, where they are already represented, and where they have no title to be more than represented.

1757. November. 'Inquiry into miscarriages at Rochfort.'

The inquiry began on the 12th. The generals, and Knowles, and Broderick, utterly disavowing Sir Edward Hawke's minutes, Lord George took them to pieces severely, and censured Hay, the composer of them. The Duke of Marlborough asked many questions, with appearance of thinking ill of the conduct of the generals. Waldegrave took no part at all. Sir John Mordaunt defended himself weakly; Conway most ably; exposed Clarke; and at last producing his own narrative, it silenced all farther inquiry; yet the resolutions of the court, which were not explicit, seemed to say, that they thought more might have been performed; or at least that there had not been sufficient reasons for desisting from the attempt. The report of these opinions was made to the King on the 21st, who, on the 30th, ordered a court-martial on Sir John Mordaunt alone.

The Duke of Cumberland* espoused the cause of the

* The Duke was much diverted on hearing that Pitt, who had drawn the

1757. November. 'Inquiry into miscarriages at Rochfort.'

generals, wished them to make it a common cause, and to pin down their whole defence to the impracticability of the measure. To this Conway could not consent. He had too much endeavoured to explore whether it was practicable or not, to submit to involve himself in the remissness of those for whose sake he now sufferred. Yet the delicacy with which he avoided whatever might set their failings in a strong light, the management he used invariably for Sir John Mordaunt, for whom he drew up every paper he could want, the obstinacy with which he persisted to sink material articles of his own defence, rather than charge his colleagues, at the same time that no worthy mind was ever so wounded with disgrace, these and every instance of his behaviour made the solidity of his virtue appear most amiable and interesting; and it was still heightened by not meeting with an equal degree of tenderness from those in whose protection it was exerted.

December. 'Court-martial.'

The court-martial began its session on the 14th of December, and finished on the 18th; though it was opened again for one day to hear Sir Edward Hawke's evidence, who had been at sea. Lord Tyrawley was president. Mr. Pitt appeared before them, as he said, to authenticate his own orders, but took the opportunity of making an imperious speech, and defended Clarke and Thierri the pilot; who, he affirmed, had supported their information, though sifted in so extraordinary a manner. General Cholmondeley interrupted him, reminding him that he only came thither to authenticate.

plan for the militia, urged against the generals that there had been no force on the coast of France, but twenty thousand of the militia!

Pitt replied with haughtiness; and being asked, who had sifted Clarke and the pilot, he said, the military men; and often spoke of Mordaunt and Conway by name. There have been times when a minister, in less odour of popularity, would have been impeached for presuming to awe a legal court of justice—but as it did Mr. Pitt no harm, neither did it produce any good to the cause he favoured. The whole court treated the expedition as rash and childish; and acquitted the general with honour. Sir Edward Hawke reflecting on Thierri as an ignorant *Fanfaron*, General Cholmondeley asked if there were two Thierris? Surely, he said, this ignorant *Fanfaron* could not be the one so applauded by Mr. Pitt!

1757. December. 'Inquiry into the miscarriages at Rochfort.'

Thus ended the chimera of taking Rochfort. The public, however, were entertained for part of the following winter with a literary controversy, which it produced between General Conway and Mr. Potter. Mr. Doddington, too, flung in one or two bitter pamphlets against Mr. Pitt.

I have dwelt so long on the singular events of this year, that I shall hasten to the conclusion of this book, touching briefly the other most material passages, the chief of which relating to the victories of the King of Prussia, will be found at large in other histories, and demand a more exalted pen than mine, sullied with the faults and follies of my countrymen, and though suited perhaps to the trifling province of catching ridicules, unequal to the lofty compass of history.

Lord Mansfield was called to the *conciliabulum*, or essence of the council; an honour not only uncommon and due to his

1757. October. high abilities, but set off with his being proposed by Lord Hardwicke himself, who wished, he said, to get repose for three months in the country: Lord Mansfield would amply supply his place. It was about this time that this great chief justice set himself to take information against libels, and would sift, he said, what was the real liberty of the press. The occasions of the times had called him off from principles that favoured an arbitrary king—he still leaned towards an arbitrary government.

'Lord Mansfield of cabinet.'

At the end of October came news, that our fleet under Holbourn, blocking up a French squadron at Louisbourg, had been dispersed by a great storm, in which the Nassau was lost, the Eagle was driven home, and ten ships were dismasted.

Victories of the King of Prussia.

The year concluded with a torrent of glory for the King of Prussia. On the 5th of November he defeated the combined Imperial and French armies at Rosbach; and though the Austrians took Schweidnitz, and beat the Prince of Bevern, the king repaired that disadvantage by a compleat victory over their best army, commanded by Prince Charles and Count Daun, at Lissa: a single month intervening between this and his success at Rosbach. His uncle's efforts were neither exerted nor crowned with equal honour. The decline of the arms of France in the empire encouraged the King to break the convention of Closter Seven. The Hanoverians were reassembled, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, a general of repute, appointed to command them. Some trifling

infractions of the neutrality on the part of the French were pretexted to cover this notorious breach of faith—a monument to future politicians, in how short a space of time a treaty may be commanded, concluded, disavowed, made advantage of, and violated! 1757. October.

During these transactions, the unfortunate Queen of Poland died suddenly at Dresden; a witness of calamities to which she had not contributed, and which she had in vain remained there to temper.

In England, Sir John Ligonier, to whom the supreme command of the British armies was entrusted, was created a viscount of Ireland, and a marshal, with his seniors, Sir Robert Rich and Lord Molesworth. Lord George Sackville succeeded as lieutenant-general of the ordnance; and by that employment escaped the unwelcome command in America, which he could not with any grace have otherwise avoided. Sir John Ligonier made viscount and marshal.

Colley Cibber, that good-humoured and honest veteran, so unworthily aspersed by Pope, and whose Memoires, with one or two of his comedies, will secure his fame, in spite of all the abuse of his cotemporaries, dying about this time at a very great age, the Duke of Devonshire bestowed the laurel on Mr. Whitehead, a man of a placid genius. His grace had first designed it for Gray*, then for Mason, but was told that both would decline it. In truth, it was not Cibber's silly odes that disgraced the employment, but an annual panegyric venally

* It appears by Mr. Gray's Letters, published with his Life by Mr. Mason in 1795, that the laurel was actually offerred to Mr. Gray, and was refused by him.

1757. December. extorted for whatever king, and with or without occasion, that debased the office. Gray, crowned with the noblest wreaths of Parnassus, could not stoop to be dubbed poet by a lord chamberlain; and Mason, though he had not then displayed all the powers of his genius, had too much sense and spirit to owe his literary fame to any thing but his own merit.

Death of Princess Caroline.

On the 28th of December died the King's third daughter, Princess Caroline. She had been the favorite of the Queen, who preferred her understanding to those of all her other daughters, and whose partiality she returned with duty, gratitude, affection, and concern. Being in ill health at the time of her mother's death, the Queen told her she would follow her in less than a year. The princess received the notice as a prophecy; and though she lived many years after it had proved a vain one, she quitted the world, and persevered in the closest retreat, and in constant and religious preparation for the grave; a moment she so eagerly desired, that when something was once proposed to her, to which she was averse, she said, "I would not do it to die!" To this impression of melancholy had contributed the loss of Lord * Hervey, for whom she had conceived an unalterable passion, constantly marked afterwards by all kind and generous offices to his children. For many years she was totally an invalid, and shut herself up in two chambers in the inner part of St. James's, from whence she could not see a single object. In this

* Eldest son of John Earl of Bristol, and Lord Privy Seal: a great favorite of Queen Caroline, and a principal object of Pope's satire.

monastic retirement, with no company but of the King, the Duke, Princess Emily, and a few of the most intimate of the court, she led, not an unblameable life only, but a meritorious one: her whole income was dispensed between generosity and charity; and, till her death by shutting up the current discovered the source, the jails of London did not suspect that the best support of their wretched inhabitants was issued from the palace. 1757. December.

From the last Sunday to the Wednesday on which she died, she declined seeing her family; and when the mortification began, and the pain ceased, she said, "I feared I should not have died of this!"

Finished August 8th, 1759.

MEMOIRES

OF

THE YEAR 1758.

Punch. Who is that?
Luckless. That is an orator, Master Punch.
Punch. An orator!—what 's that?
Luck. Why, an orator is—egad, I can't tell what: he is a man that nobody dares dispute with.

FIELDING'S *Pleasures of the Town.*

1758.

'Mr. Pitt.'

PITT was now arrived at undisturbed possession of that influence in affairs at which his ambition had aimed, and which his presumption had made him flatter himself he could exert like those men of superior genius, whose talents have been called forth by some crisis to retrieve a sinking nation. He had said the last year to the Duke of Devonshire, "My lord, I am sure I can save this country, and nobody else can." It were ingratitude to him to say that he did not give such a reverberation to our stagnating councils, as exceedingly altered the appearance of our fortune. He warded off the

1758. evil hour that seemed approaching; he infused vigour into our arms; he taught the nation to speak again as England used to speak to foreign powers; and so far from dreading invasions from France, he affected to turn us into invaders. Indeed, those efforts were so puny, so ill-concerted, so ineffectual to any essential purpose, that France looked down with scorn on such boyish flippancies, which Pitt deemed heroic, which Europe thought ridiculous, and which humanity saw were only wastefull of lives, and precedents of a more barbarous warfare than France had hitherto been authorized to carry on. In fact, Pitt had neither all the talents he supposed in himself, nor which he seemed to possess from the vacancy of great men around him. Thinly, very thinly, were great men sown in my remembrance: I can pretend to have seen but five; the Duke of Cumberland, Sir Robert Walpole, Lord Granville, Lord Mansfield, and Pitt. I have expatiated on all their characters seperately; and yet I am inclined to say a few words more in the light of comparison. It is by setting the same characters in different oppositions and points of view, that nearer acquaintance with them may be struck out.

'Five great men.'

'Lord Granville.'

Lord Granville was most a genius of the five: he conceived, knew, expressed, whatever he pleased. The state of Europe and the state of literature were equally familiar to him. His eloquence was rapid, and flowed from a source of wit, grandeur, and knowledge. So far from premeditated, he allowed no reflection to chasten it. It was entertaining, it

1758.

was sublime, it was hyperbole, it was ridiculous, according as the profusion of ideas crouded from him. He embraced systems like a legislator, but was capable of none of the detail of a magistrate. Sir Robert Walpole was much the reverse: he knew mankind, not their writings; he consulted their interests, not their systems; he intended their happiness, not their grandeur. Whatever was beyond common sense, he disregarded. Lord Mansfield, without the elevation of Lord Granville, had great powers of eloquence. It was a most accurate understanding, and yet capable of shining in whatever it was applied to. He was as free from vice as Pitt, more unaffected, and formed to convince, even where Pitt had dazzled. The Duke of Cumberland had most expressive sense, but with that connection between his sense and sensibility, that you must mortify his pride before you could call out the radiance of his understanding. Being placed at the head of armies without the shortest apprenticeship, no wonder he miscarried: it is cruel to have no other master than one's own faults. Pitt's was an unfinished greatness: considering how much of it depended on his words, one may almost call his an artificial greatness; but his passion for fame and the grandeur of his ideas compensated for his defects. He aspired to redeem the honour of his country, and to place it in a point of giving law to nations. His ambition was to be the most illustrious man of the first country in Europe; and he thought that the eminence of glory could not be sullied, by the steps to it being passed irregularly. He

'Sir Robert Walpole.'

'Lord Mansfield.'

'Duke of Cumberland.'

'Mr. Pitt.'

1758.

'Five great men compared.'

wished to aggrandize Britain in general, but thought not of obliging or benefitting individuals. Lord Granville you loved till you knew him; Sir Robert Walpole, the more you knew him: you would have loved the Duke, if you had not feared him. Pitt liked the dignity of despotism; Lord Mansfield the reality: yet the latter would have served the cause of power, without sharing it: Pitt would have set the world free, if he might not command it. Lord Granville would have preferred doing right, if he had not thought it more convenient to do wrong: Sir Robert Walpole meaned to serve mankind, though he knew how little they deserved it—and this principle is at once the most meritorious in one's self and to the world.—I beg pardon for this digression.

'Parliament.'

The parliament had opened on the first of December in the last year; and, as if to notify honestly, that Germany would not be proscribed by Mr. Pitt, the King's speech talked openly of the defence of his Majesty's dominions of Britain and *elsewhere*. By that little word *elsewhere*, Hanover was incorporated into the very language of parliament. Lord Westmorland, in the Lords, spoke with applause against re-echoing addresses, and universal submission to a minister. In the Commons, Mr. Fox was absent on the death of his favorite nephew, Lord Digby; and *elsewhere* passed as if a phrase of course, like the town of Berwick upon Tweed. Yet on the 14th, when Lord Barrington, on delivering the estimates of the army, had complaisantly reverberated the word *elsewhere*, Mr. Pitt himself said, he did not agree with his

lordship in that term; he meaned the army for our immediate selves. He had never been against continental measures when practicable; but would not now send a drop of our blood to the Elbe, to be lost in that ocean of gore. Other parts of this speech, admired almost beyond any of his orations, were so fine, and so bombast, that I must just mention a few, though I do not intend to fatigue the reader with more speeches: those I have given are sufficient to illustrate our oratory. 1758. Speech of Mr. Pitt.

Sir John Philipps had spoken dully, Beckford wildly, dropping this expression, "He did not know in what hands we were." Lord George Sackville had made the apology of Lord Loudun, whose idle conduct in America was much censured; yet where Lord George wished to have him remain, lest, on a change of commanders, he himself should be named. Pitt said, "In what hands were we?—in those of a most gracious King:" on whom he made a panegyric, and of which the least part was not his Majesty's goodness to him since he last took the seals. How the King had listened even to him, though least in administration—though least, he hoped to continue in it with honour: and he spoke of the great concord among the ministers. But nothing could be well till the army was subjected to the civil power: they were to obey, not to reason. Those sent on the late expedition had laughed at it even at table—nay, so had some of the cabinet. He warmed himself on this topic, though he knew, he said, he ought not, as the commander was actually under trial. On Lord Loudun he kept no measures at all, but loaded him with all the asperity peculiar to his style—he had scarce any hopes now,

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'Mr. Pitt's speech.'

though the people paid such an army in America: not only nothing was done—nothing was attempted. We had lost all the waters; we had not a boat on them now. Every door there was open to France. Though Lord George had excused, he could not; he would not condemn, yet he beleived against Lord Loudun, who might have recovered our affairs if he had not loitered from the 9th of July to the 5th of August, inquiring whether or no the French were superior: indeed, for himself, our ill success had hurt his quiet and tainted his health. He then burst out into an Eastern panegyric. There he found Watson, Pococke, and Clive:—what astonishing success had Watson had with only three ships, which had been laid up for some time on land! He did not stay to careen this, and condemn that, but at once sailed into the body of the Ganges. He was supported by Clive, that man, not born for a desk; *that heaven-born general,* whose magnanimity, resolution, determination, and execution, would charm a King of Prussia; and whose presence of mind astonished the Indies!

King of Prussia takes Breslau.

These heroes soon added new wreaths to those with which Mr. Pitt had crowned them. The King of Prussia took Breslau, and made prisoners an army of generals and ten thousand men: and the letters of the following month brought accounts of such victories and riches acquired by Clive as astonished Europe as much as the Indies. Discovering that the Nabob who ruled in that quarter was encouraged by the French to break his alliance with us, and was actually on the march to attack our settlements, Clive bribed his first minister, who, expediting his treachery in a more summary way than is

usual in this part of the world, murdered his master; and then Clive, at the head of only three thousand men, and with a bravery that deserved a better foundation than the assassination of an enemy, attacked and defeated an army of thirty-five thousand. The new Nabob, established by Clive's influence, made immense presents to our fleet and East India Company. Clive's share amounted to above 200,000*l.* Admiral Watson, to whom the red ribband was destined, died of a fever two days after the engagement. 1758. General Clive's victory.

General Abercrombie was sent to command in America; a man who signalized himself neither before nor after his advancement. Five new brigadier-generals and three colonels with rank only in our colonies, were appointed to serve under him. Amherst had a seperate command, with Wolfe for second. These officers were all selected by Pitt, who contented himself with always speaking of the affair of Rochfort as *res intentata*, and with keeping the commanders on that expedition unemployed; though Conway, in the most earnest terms, and by every interest he could use, begged to serve in any quality, and in any part of the world. He was refused: and even when the English staff was carried in to the King by Ligonier, his Majesty struck out the names of Mordaunt, Conway, and Cornwallis. Ligonier represented Conway's eagerness for employment, and that his case was different from Mordaunt's—he had tried to do something. "Yes," said the King, "*après diné la moutarde.*" However, he said he would think of Conway, though not then. 'Military appointments.'

1758

Affairs of Ireland

In Ireland affairs grew to a crisis. The opposition were inflamed with resentment at the secret committee set up by the Duke of Bedford, the management of which they had wrested from him. As the season too approached for the departure of the lord lieutenant, the primate had no time to lose for recovering his place in the regency. Every reason of policy and decency made it more eligible to him to obtain that situation by gentle means than by violence. He and Ponsonby offerred terms to the Duke of Bedford, who, though confessing their superiority in the House of Commons, refused to unite with them. In truth, he had involved himself so much with Lord Kildare, and was so unwilling to disoblige Fox by disobliging that lord, that he knew not how to extricate himself. If Kildare would have softened towards the primate, the accomodation would soon have been compleated—but he would not desert himself; and he knew his party would desert him if once reconciled to the prelate. More, the black-rod, was dispatched to England to consult Mr. Fox; the duke hoping in the mean time to be able to govern independently of either party. The first step he took towards this system only tended to make it more impracticable. A judge's place falling vacant, the lord lieutenant, to demonstrate his impartiality, offerred the nomination to the chancellor, who recommended Malone's greatest enemy, a creature of the primate, and one formerly employed by Lord George Sackville to write pamphlets on their side. His preferment, thus obtained, was no obligation to the primate: Malone resented it

1758.

'Affairs of Ireland.'

strongly, and soon took an opportunity of exerting his resentment. The secret committee got enlarged powers, intending to turn them against the Duke of Bedford's treasury; and the party in general hurried to hostilities. The lord lieutenant's secretary was a place of great profit, if in the hands of an intelligent and interested man. He had fees from every new commission in the army; and his selling regiments and subordinate ranks had long passed as a matter scarce to be disavowed. If he had great power over his patron, and none over himself, bishopricks and every other preferment in the gift or at the recommendation of the lord lieutenant were marketable at the secretary's apartments in the Castle. But it was on the death of a king that the secretaryship was largely lucrative. He touched for every renewal of commission and patent. With some of these advantages Mr. Conway had been a sufferer by the employment. The table and equipage are very expensive for the year of the lord lieutenant's residence in Ireland. It is the second, the fallow* year, that indemnifies both the master and the servant; and the Duke of Devonshire quitted before their second year. Mr. Conway had disdained the least gratification for his interest; and as often as the Duke of Devonshire offerred him the nomination of regiments and commissions, he constantly recommended neglected officers, who deserved the station, and were too indigent to reward the service, for which Conway scorned to

* It seems by this passage, that, in George the Second's reign, the lord lieutenants of Ireland absented themselves, as a matter of course, the second year of their viceroyalty. E.

1758. be rewarded. The great age of the King, joined to the other inducements I have mentioned, had been the principal object that had shone in Rigby's eyes when he carried the Duke of Bedford to Ireland—but that prospect the opposition now cut off; and while their patriotism was only sharpened by popularity, it happily served to disburthen poor officers from so heavy a tribute. They proposed a question, which, by the ill-humour of Malone, was carried without a negative, that the lord lieutenant's secretary ought to have no fees for commissions; that the loss ought to be made up to him in some other way. The King, when this resolution came to England, ordered the secretary's salary to be 2500*l.* a year. The blow was heavy, and had its effect. The primate, having demonstrated his power, showed he was not implacable. Lord Fane, of whose integrity the Duke of Bedford had the greatest opinion, and with some reason, for it was like his own, founded on a partial degree of sense, and easily misled to very contrary purposes, was then in Ireland. To him the primate sent Lord Hilsborough's uncle, Mr. Hill, with new offers of accommodation. Lord Fane carried them, but at first the Duke of Bedford was deaf. Lord Fane went again: the duchess and Rigby were present, and, to disguise their inclinations to the treaty, affected to receive him with the same coldness as the duke did; by which stale art the duke thought them of his opinion, till they had time to make him of theirs; and then the negotiation was easily carried on, and the primate restored to his usual power in the government, where, when once reinstated, he became the sole arbiter of affairs. He avoided

'Affairs of Ireland.'

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'Affairs of Ireland.'

interfering with Rigby's traffic; he assured the duchess of the homage of her subjects, and secured her return to them; and he had too much insinuation not to charm the duke himself, who departed to England smiling and self-satisfied, though sold by one* man and vanquished by another! Offers were made to Lord Kildare of being included in this treaty, which he refused, quitting his part of the regency, but professing to avoid future hostilities. The primate and the Speaker were left lords justices; the third place, Lord Kildare's [one must have lived in England and seen the abandoned behaviour of *our* patriots before one could believe it], was filled by Lord Shannon; that very Mr. Boyle, for whom Lord Kildare had commenced all these disturbances, and whose opposition to the primate had first introduced *virtue*, and consequently prostitution, into Ireland. Malone too kept his place, and Sir Richard Cox† was made a commissioner of the revenue.

Before I quit the affairs of that country, I must mention a

* When they returned from Ireland, the Duke of Newcastle, who was leaning from Pitt, was impatient to see Rigby. The latter went to dine at Claremont. The duke showed him the gardens and improvements; and in the expansion of the folly of his heart, forgetting that it was himself and not Rigby that was in transports of satisfaction, he said, "Well! is not this better than going about and abusing me?" In the following summer Newcastle carried this disposition to the Bedfords still farther: at the Commencement at Cambridge he affected to take extreme notice of Lord Tavistock, a modest, but plain lad, cried up his beauty and the goodness of his coffee, and recommended him to the University for successor to himself.

† See Book Second of these Memoires.

1758. spiritual business that made some noise there. Dr. Clayton, Bishop of Clogher, had already distinguished himself as a man of parts and a freethinker. His Essay on Spirit, which seemed to accord with Clarke's esoteric doctrine, had more the address of an heresiarch than the plain-dealing simplicity of a Christian pastor. He now published a vindication of the Testament, which seemed calculated for doing any thing with the Testament rather than supporting it. Yet the man was believed sincere in his opinions—and so a man ought to be who thinks it worth his while to expose himself by exploding any common prejudices. He even aspired to sufferings for his zeal in propagating counterband metaphysics among illiterate Irish. But the bishops, his brethren, taking the alarm, and intending a meeting with their *orthodox* primate, in order to prepare an application to the crown for a royal visitation, Clayton died suddenly of a panic, though possessed of a good private estate, and ambitious of martyrdom!

Picture of some of the manners of the age.

This little flame was soon extinguished—in fact, there were no religious combustibles in the temper of the times. Popery and Protestantism seemed at a stand. The modes of Christianity were exhausted, and could not furnish novelty enough to fix attention. Linzendorffe plied his Moravians with nudities, yet made few enthusiasts: Whitfield and the Methodists made more money than disturbances: his largest crop of proselytes lay among servant-maids; and his warmest devotees went to Bedlam without going to war. Bower, whom some thought they had detected as a Jesuit, and who

1758.

'Manners of the times.'

at most was but detected as an impostor, had laid open the practices of the Catholics, and detailed the establishments of the Jesuits in the very heart of London, without occasioning either alarm or murmur against those fathers. His History of the Popes, one of the ablest performances we have, was decried, because, to recommend a work of truth and utility, he had embroidered his own story with some marvellous legends. Yet, uninflammable as the times were, they carried a great mixture of superstition. Masquerades had been abolished, because there had been an earthquake at Lisbon; and when the last jubilee-masquerade was exhibited at Ranelagh, the ale-houses and roads to Chelsea were crouded with drunken people, who assembled to denounce the judgments of God on persons of fashion, whose greatest sin was dressing themselves ridiculously. A more inconvenient reformation, and not a more sensible one, was set on foot by societies of tradesmen, who denounced to the magistrate all bakers that baked or sold bread on Sundays. Alum, and the variety of spurious ingredients with which bread, and indeed all wares, were adulterated all the week round, gave not half so much offence as the vent of the chief necessary of life on the seventh day. Indecent prints were prohibited: the Chief-Justice Mansfield caused to be seized at an auction a well-known tale, called the Woman of Pleasure, a work that simplified novels to their original intention. Some of the elders too of our own church, seeing what harvests were brought into the tabernacles of Whitfield and Wesley by

1758. familiarizing God's word to the vulgar, and by elevating vulgar language, had the discretion to apply the same call to their own lost sheep, and tinkled back their old women by sounding the brass of the Methodists. One Ashton, a quaint and fashionable preacher of the Orthodox, talked to the people in a phrase compounded of cant and politics: he reproved them for not coming to church, where *God keeps a day but sees little company;* and informed them that *our ancestors loved powder and ball, and so did our generals; but the latter loved them for their hair and hands.* Yet to do justice to better principles, the age had made some estimable improvements. Prize-fighting, in which we had horridly resembled the most barbarous and most polite nations, was suppressed by the legislature. Hogarth had undertaken the cause of humanity, and painted satires on all species of cruelty. From France and Italy we had adopted hospitals for foundlings; and from the dictates of nature, all manner of hospitals. Our stage grew chaste; indecency dared not to show its face in a modern comedy, though it still remained in possession of the old ones; and what is remarkable, having been tolerated when women went to the theatre in masks, preserved its hold, now they went without them.

'Manners of the times.'

About this time Lord Bute* obtained, by the means of

* The power of that Scotch favorite was so great at Leicester-House, that the Prince of Wales went three times to Agis, a new tragedy written by John Home, and so indifferent an one, that nobody else could bear to go to it twice. Sir Henry Erskine wrote a patriot prologue to it. The Prince, from an affectation of popularity, generally went to the play on Saturdays, the opera-night.

Pitt, the place of commissioner of excise for Scott, the late preceptor, to whom it had been promised. It was even wrested from a young Pelham, to whom Newcastle had actually given it. Lord Bute thought this service to Scott necessary, and had insisted warmly—otherwise Pitt shunned all interfering in the disposal of employments. 1758.

'King's munificence.'

The King, on the death of Princess Caroline, had voluntarily promised to continue her allowance to Princess Emily, who handsomely engaged to pay the same pensions and the same grants to the prisons that her sister Caroline had done. She had even desired to impart a large portion of it to her sister Mary of Hesse; but the King, while the vapour of munificence lasted, said, he should take care of Mary. In a month's time the Duke of Newcastle was sent in form to notify to Princess Emily, that the King retracted his promise, and should not continue to her the allowance of Princess Caroline.

Affair of the Habeas Corpus.

An affair was now opened, which having once been deemed the most important point to English liberty, would seem to demand large discussion. But having been so much agitated formerly, and so well explained in our parliamentary books, and now ending without any alteration—rather without any improvement, of the ancient system, I would willingly be very brief in relating what passed. That I mention it at all with any detail, when hastening to the conclusion of my work, is only to mark how much the modes of thinking change, and that fundamentals themselves can make no impression, if ap-

1758. prehensions of arbitrary power are not in fashion. If a passion for freedom is not in vogue, patriots may sound the alarm till they are weary.

'Habeas Corpus.' The act of Habeas Corpus, by which prisoners may insist on being brought to trial within a limited time, is the corner-stone of our liberty. The power of pressing, and some other cases, seemed to clash with this invaluable privilege, or that with the utility of pressing; for if soldiers or mariners, impressed and carried to any distant quarters or ports, might demand their *habeas corpus*, and claim to be brought to the capital to have it examined whether they were properly subject to the violence laid on them, sudden emergencies would be deprived of their service, and a thousand accidents might happen to facilitate their total escape, though ever so fit for the intended destination of them. It was a doubt, too, whether all the twelve judges could, or were obliged to grant the writ in time of vacation. These doubts, which many prudent men thought it best to leave in suspence or overwhelm in silence, others, if warmer, not worse-intentioned, held necessary to be ascertained the moment they had come into question: and they had come into question, and a man, too apt to decide peremptorily when his decisions could strengthen prerogative, had affected to pronounce against that universal immunity from uncertain detention of their persons, which the English, with so much reason, think their birthright. This was the Chief Justice Mansfield. He had a bitter antagonist in the Attorney-general Pratt, who had not only entered into em-

ployment on a popular foot, but personally hated the chief justice, and was himself steady, warm, sullen*, stained with no reproach, and an uniform Whig. He declared himself with impetuosity for the utmost latitude of the Habeas Corpus; and it reflected no small honour on him, that the first advocate of the crown should appear the firmest champion against prerogative. Nor should we deem less highly of him, because private motives spurred him on to the contest —alas! how cold would public virtue be, if it never glowed but with public heat! So seldom, too, it is that any considerations can biass a man to run counter to the colour of his office and the interests of his profession, that the world should not be too scrupulous about accepting the service as a merit, but should honour it at least for the sake of the precedent. 1758. 'Mr. Pratt.'

Pratt prepared a bill for explaining and extending the Habeas Corpus, and ascertaining its full operation. It was brought into the House of Commons, where Pitt and the Speaker supported it with firmness; and the majority chearfully promoted it. Yet even in that house it met with avowed foes. The authority of Lord Mansfield had weight with some; the influence of Lord Hardwicke with more; and the lawyers, who easily overlooked the essence of a thing on which there was enough said in their books to enchant them with sounds and cavils, laid themselves out in such a pro- 'Brings in a bill.'

* Why the author has chosen, in this just and spirited passage, to introduce the word "sullen," I am at a loss to discover; and believe those who had the happiness to know the late Lord Camden will be as much so. E.

1758.

'Mr. Pratt's Habeas Corpus bill.'

fusion of jargon, that nothing but the nonsense they talked prevented all the world from seeing how much they contradicted both themselves and one another. They made the plainest thing in the world, *the right to freedom*, the most obscure; and yet while any hope of their becoming intelligible remained, men listened to know through what genealogy of terms this blessing had been derived to them: a common error that I willingly censure, as if precedents brought in support of, did not weaken, liberty. Can ages of ancestors submitting to tyranny impeach my freedom? Have I not a right to be free, the moment I have the power of being so? If we hold our liberties but by Magna Charta, we hold them by an extorted piece of parchment. If the crown had a right to enslave us before, it has a right still, for then that struggle was rebellion; and what right can rebellion give? Magna Charta was but the King's confession of his usurpation; as taking up arms against oppression, is only doing justice on the oppressor. I have ever found that such grave personages as affect to authenticate our liberties by history and precedent, are no better than those foppish tools the heralds, who hoard long rolls of nobility, but are ready to forge a pedigree for the first pretender to birth.

The bill passed easily, though tediously, through the Commons. Before I proceed to its fate among the Lords, I must touch upon the other events of the season.

The campaign was opened on our part with great success. Prince Ferdinand and that gallant boy, his nephew, drove the French out of Hanover by a plan, like that of Turenne in

Alsace, of attacking them in four different quarters at once. 1758.
The Count de Clermont, who had succeeded Richelieu, behaved with a politeness that sufficiently indicated how much the French were humbled: he gave a pass to a courier to come and acquaint the King that he was again master of his dominions. But the virtuous humanity of the Duc de Randan must not be confounded with the humiliation of his countrymen: governor of Hanover, he had treated the conquered with amiable lenity; and when he was obliged to quit his post, and had full time to destroy his magazines, he nobly abandoned them to the magistrates, and marched himself the last out of the city, to prevent his troops from committing any revengefull outrage.

Anecdotes on the Navy Bill.

George Grenville took advantage of the triumphant situation of his connection, and renewed his Navy Bill, which had been thrown out the last year. And here Mr. Pitt had an opportunity of showing, that if he had submitted to unite with the very men he had persecuted, the depression fell to them. The Duke of Newcastle, Lord Hardwicke, and Lord Anson, were all obliged to vote for this very bill, which they had rejected last year. Some pretended that this shifting conduct was but a compromise, and that their intention of flinging out the new Habeas Corpus was to be overlooked, in consideration of their facilitating the Navy Bill. A bargain about laws, not the more incredible for its being shamefull; and considering for what trifling acts Mr. Pitt has stickled, while he acquiesced in the loss of such an invaluable bill, his patriotism will lie under the suspicion of being more specious

1758. than real. Lord Winchelsea, Lord Lyttelton, Lord Marchmont, and the adherents of the Duke and Fox, still opposed the Navy Bill; but it was carried on the first division by 74 to 14. At the third reading Lord Bath spoke upon it, a speech so miscellaneous and rambling, that it resembled his ancient orations, except that in this he much commended Sir Robert Walpole. Lord Denbigh attacked Lord Marchmont, and said, he remembered when that lord had been connected with a man of very different principles. Lord Marchmont thinking Lord Bolinbroke was the person alluded to, treated his memory with great severity—though, by the way, Lord Bolinbroke had died in friendship with him. Lord Denbigh, without rising, said aloud, "He mistakes; I meaned Sir William Windham." Marchmont was disconcerted. The other, after the debate, went up to Lord Hardwicke, and said, "Sir William Windham put me under Lord Marchmont in politics; and one day, in warm conversation, the latter clapped his hand on my knee, and said, "Young man, remember I tell you, this country will never be in a better situation, while one of this family is on the throne." The bill passed.

Death of Archbishop Hutton.

March 20th died Dr. Hutton, archbishop of Canterbury, after short possession of his see. The Duke of Newcastle had great inclination to give it to Dr. Hay-Drummond, bishop of St. Asaph, a gentleman, a man of parts, and of the world; but Lord Hardwicke's influence carried it for Secker, who certainly did not want parts or worldliness.

Lord George Sackville was now rising to a principal figure. His abilities in the House of Commons, and his interest with

Pitt, gave him great weight in government; and every thing seemed to promise him the first rank in the army, where, since the depression of Conway, he stood without a rival. The Duke, who hated him, was removed; Marshal Ligonier was very old, and was governed by him; and by his seat in the Ordnance, and his own address, he began to balance Fox in the direction of the Duke of Marlborough. But his imperious temper was not to be restrained; and at this very period he wantonly started an enemy, under whose lash he had reason afterwards to wish he had not fallen. A considerable officer was Lord Tyrawley, too old to give jealousy to Lord George, and who having been neglected by the Duke of Newcastle, had treated the latter with a contempt, which, besides his attaching himself to Fox, had assured an entire stop to his own farther advancement. Lord Tyrawley had a thorough knowledge of the world, though less of his own country than of others: he had long been minister in Portugal, where he grew into such favour, that the late King, to keep him there, would have appointed him his general. He had a great deal of humour, and occasional good-breeding, but not to the prejudice of his natural temper, which was imperiously blunt, haughty, and contemptuous, with an undaunted portion of spirit. Accustomed to the despotism of Portugal, Muscovy, and the army, he had little reverence for parliaments, and always spoke of them as the French do of the long-robe: he even affected not to know where the House of Commons was. He was just returned from Gibraltar, where

1758.

Affair of Lord Tyrawley.

1758.

'Affair of Lord Tyrawley.'

he had ordered great additions to the works, with no more œconomy than governors are apt to do, who think themselves above being responsible. Lord George Sackville caught at this dissipation, and privately instigated Sir John Philipps to censure the expence. To their great surprize Lord Tyrawley demanded to be heard at the bar of the House in his own defence. A day was named. Lord Tyrawley drew up a memorial, which he proposed to read to the House; and which in the mean time he did read to every body else. It was conceived in bitter terms against Lord George, and attacked him roundly on having avoided all foreign command. This alarmed: Lord George got the day of hearing adjourned for near a fortnight; but Lord Tyrawley was not a man to recede from his point; and Lord George having underhand procured the report of Skinner, who surveyed the works at Gibraltar, to be brought before the House, without mentioning what it was, Mr. Fox laid open the unhandsome darkness of this conduct, and Lord Tyrawley himself appeared at the bar. As the hearing was before the committee, high words were avoided, which must have ensued had the Speaker, who was not wont to suffer disrespect to the House, been in the chair; for Lord Tyrawley made good by his behaviour all that had been taken for vapour before he appeared there. He treated the House with great freedom, their forms with still greater; and leaning on the bar, (though he was allowed a chair) he browbeat Skinner his censor, who stood on his left hand, with such arrogant humour, that the very lawyers thought them-

selves outdone in their own style of worrying a culprit. He read his memorial, which was well-drawn and somewhat softened, with great art and frankness, and assumed more merit to himself than he had been charged with blame. Such tough game tempted few hunters. Lord George was glad to wave the sport; and the House dismissed the affair with perfect satisfaction in the innocence of a man who dared to do wrong more than they dared to censure him. 1758.

Hitherto the King of Prussia had lain quiet. Suspicions had even been entertained that he was meditating or concluding a seperate peace. At last a new subsidiary treaty was concluded with him, and Colonel Yorke was dispatched from the Hague to fix that essential man. Luckily, Kniphausen was on the road, with his assent to the treaty, before Yorke arrived; otherwise the vainglory of Lord Hardwicke could not have imagined a more impolitic step for his country or his son. Every attempt of our sending men of parts to circumvent him had succeeded ill: the King of Prussia was so far a little genius, that he dreaded trying himself against talents. For this reason he used Legge and Sir Charles Williams in the most ungracious manner. Lord Hyndford, Mr. Villiers, and Mitchell, were the men that suited him—and had he known him, he would not have feared Yorke. But the King made Mitchell introduce him, would talk to him on no business, and entertained him with nothing but a panegyric on Mitchell. New treaty with Prussia

The treaty was laid before the Houses, and approved.

1758. Lord Denbigh commended it, and said, he was glad the Elector of Hanover was included in it, that he might not desert the King of England. He entered a claim against any Hanoverian neutrality, and rejoyced that we had another general; censuring the Duke for the convention of Closter Seven. This unjust bitterness was received with marks of approbation by the Duke of Newcastle, Lord Lincoln, and Lord Temple, and was ill retorted by Lord Sandwich. Lord Lyttelton spoke well, distinguishing between the two parts of the administration, and too ridiculously ascribing whatever had been done well to the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Temple answered him with vehement abuse, and applied to him a passage out of Tully, which Lord Lyttelton had formerly inscribed on a temple at Stowe; the gentle conclusion of it was to call him "Hominem detestabilem, imbecillum, caducum." Lord Lyttelton, as usual, replied with firmness, but with too little asperity, considering how unrelenting towards him was the malice of that faction.

The grant of money for the treaty was followed by the ways and means for the year. The new taxes were laid on houses and windows, and on places; a poor tribute to popularity offerred by Legge.

Sequel of the Habeas Corpus

The bill for explaining and extending the act of Habeas Corpus was now got into the House of Lords, where it produced a new scene, and showed how the feelings of men differ from their professions. The constitution, as settled at present, is in a king elected by the voice of the people, without any

1758.

'Sequel of the Habeas Corpus.'

right of succession, in opposition to an arbitrary family, and tied down from acts of violence against the liberty of individuals by that peculiar fundamental law, the act of Habeas Corpus. The House of Lords is the next branch of the legislature: it is composed of the ancient peerage, who have expelled their ancient kings for the innovations of the latter, and of modern peers, created under the new establishment by the favour of the Prince, or selected from the sages of the law for their integrity, wisdom, and knowledge of the true rights of their country. In this house, too, sit the bishops, who cannot be too tender of those laws, which secure the exercise of their holy religion. In this house sit the Cavendishes and Russels, renowned for their vigorous defence of the Habeas Corpus; and with them the Duke of Newcastle, the ringleader of the mob of Whigs on the accession of the present family. The third estate is the House of Commons. Let us, before we pass to the discussion of the bill, anticipate the behaviour of all these persons and bodies of men, all engaged by common interest and common honour to support the charter, for which they had violated other inferior ties; but almost all swayed by private and seperate interests to abandon the cause. The King talked openly at his levee against the bill; and it was understood to be offensive to him to vote for the extension of it. He was King; he did not desire to reduce the prerogative lower than it had been delivered to him. The Lords were become so much more considerable than they had been before the Revolution, that they were in

1758. no danger from the crown; and when they do not fear it, they will always be ready to uphold it. They look on themselves as distinct from the rest of the nation; and at best, leave the people to be taken care of by their representatives, the Commons. As jealous of, and as fond of their privileges, as the King of his prerogative, they are attentive to maintain them, and deem the rights of the people rather encroachments than a common interest. Added to this general description, they were, at the time I write of, a tame, subservient, incapable set of men, governed entirely by the Duke of Newcastle, and the two lawyers, Hardwicke and Mansfield. Those lawyers were instances of the discrimination that ought to be made between the spirit of the laws and the profession of them. Nobody better read in them, nobody more warm to enforce them, nobody less actuated by the essence of them. If either of them ever took the side of liberty, or the side of mildness, I am willing to be thought to asperse them. The conduct of the prelates had for so many years been so uniformly supple, that no man expected any thing from them but complaisance for the court—and they deceived no man! The Hierarchy behaved so nobly in the reign of James the Second, and has behaved so poorly ever since, that they seem to know no medium between a mitre and a crown of martyrdom. If the clergy are not called to the latter, they never deviate from the pursuit of the former. One would think their motto was, *Canterbury or Smithfield.* The heir of the house of Russel was silent, and at last acquiesced in rejection of the bill. His

'Sequel of the Habeas Corpus.'

compeer, the Duke of Devonshire, who did not love Murray, and who had set out with approving the bill, became even an emissary to procure votes against it. He wrote to Lord Hertford, to press him to come to town and oppose it; and begged him, if he had any scruples, to come to him for the clearing of them. A Cavendish, solliciting against the Habeas Corpus, was a phænomenon; *that* Cavendish, supposing himself qualified for a casuist, was the heigth of burlesque. For the other Whig duke, Newcastle, he was the most pardonable of all: there had not been an hour of his life, that laid him under the least obligation of acting consistently. The House of Commons maintained their character. 1758. 'Habeas Corpus Bill.'

If this survey appears severe, let the motives be considered and weighed. The bill rejected was of the most national concern; if rejected conscientiously, the grounds were those of convenience preferred to those of immutable right—and with what arms do tyrants *begin* to combat liberty, but with those of necessity and convenience? But in the present case I cannot allow conscience to the House of Lords. The House of Commons*, almost to a man, approved the bill. Five hundred men are probably as conscientious as two hundred. But it was evidently an affair of faction; and was rejected in compliment to Lord Mansfield, to mark whom it had been designed, and to gratify the private pique and public authority of the family of Yorke, the head of which always considered

* Mr. Fox, who did not love Pratt, and paid court to Lord Mansfield, was one of the very few who gave negatives to the passing of the bill.

1758. what was the law, never on what grounds a law had been made.

'Habeas Corpus Bill in Lords.'

On May 9th the bill was read by the Lords. Lord Hardwicke, after chicaning upon it, rather than attacking it openly, proposed to ask the opinions of the judges. Lord Temple answered him with spirit, and reproached his peers with being so long governed by one law-lord, now by two. He read the strong introduction of the Earl of Devonshire to the conference with the Commons on the former bill, and concluded with showing how improper it was to take the opinions of the judges, which must be biassed, as the new bill inflicted penalties on them, if they refused the writ. This drew on more altercation between them, and much haughtiness from Lord Hardwicke, who urged that it was an improper time to press the bill, when civil authority wanted the utmost support: an argument that suits the worst times and the worst ministers; and never advanced with less truth, for no man living could say in what instance civil authority had wanted assistance. Lord Granville spoke for the bill; but discovering afterwards how unwelcome it was at St. James's, he attended it no more. Lord Mansfield opposed the bill, and was seconded by the Duke of Newcastle, who, though approaching to seventy, still appeared in the full vigour of his nonsense. Lord Chief Justice Willes, in the name of his brethren, desired time to consider the question till next term, as he himself was ill, and three of the order were obliged to attend for three days at the Old Bailey. But Lord Hardwicke, who the last year would have

detained admirals under sailing orders of the utmost consequence, affected to see danger in this delay, in which by the nature of the thing there could be no danger but in not giving it sufficient deliberation, and was urgent that the judges should have but two days to consider the point: so little decency did that man observe in pursuing the dictates of his passions. But in this, as in the former case, the House, with all its complaisance, declined acquiescence, and allowed the judges above a fortnight. It was not expected that Lord Hardwicke would have taken up the point so strongly, as Lord Mansfield, whom he did not love, was aimed at by the bill: but Charles Yorke, his son, who resented that Pratt was preferred to him for attorney-general, had declared against the bill, even without consulting his father.

1758. 'Habeas Corpus Bill in Lords.'

The calling upon the judges for their solemn opinions was one of those dramatic exhibitions which had twice before been played off by the ministry with success. No man supposed that Lord Hardwicke or Lord Mansfield wished, wanted, or would be directed by the sentiments of the rest, the subordinate part of the order: but the bill was to be thrown out, and the world to be amused by the gravity of the oracles that were to pronounce against it. The plan, I believe, in this, as in the former cases, was Lord Mansfield's. In his own and Stone's affair the decorum of the cabinet-council had made prodigious impression. The admirals, who were rather struck with awe than inspired it, had served to give a sort of colour to the fate of Mr. Byng—but in the present instance

1758. this decoration of the theatre did not terminate so advantageously. The cabinet-council had said little, but it was with dignity: the admirals less, but that was the very thing desired. When the judges came, they were to talk, to talk on law, and to *explain* that law by *jargon*. The field was so spacious and so inviting, that they ran into all the subtleties, distinctions, chicaneries, and absurdities of their profession. They contradicted one another, and no two of them but differred on some particular case. They exposed themselves and their instigators, who at last could not build upon any decision of those sages. They began with Noel, the youngest judge, a pompous man, of little solidity. Wilmot, whose manner was like Lord Mansfield's, and very rapid and full of fire, spoke warmly against the bill, though the intimate friend of Pratt and Legge. So did Legge's brother, the judge, and Adams, another friend of Pratt. Wilmot and Noel differred in some points of not much moment. The former spoke with great applause, though too diffusely. Bathurst was strong against Wilmot; Smyth with him. Foster could not attend, being hindered by the illness of his wife; but he was zealous for the bill, and published a large pamphlet in support of it. The rest were discordant and inconclusive; and so little was gained by the delivery of their opinions, that Lord Temple now pleaded for the bill on the disagreement of the judges; and moved a long question, the purport of which was, that an affidavit of confinement ought to be a probable cause for the judges to grant the writ. Lord

'Judges' opinions on Habeas Corpus Bill.'

1758. 'Habeas Corpus Bill in Lords.'

Lyttelton saying, that in any other place that question would be a defamatory libel on the judges, Lord Temple started up and said, "This is impertinence I will not bear."—This occasioned much confusion. Lord Lyttelton explained himself handsomely, saying, he had applied words to words, not to persons: he was sorry if he had given offence; he had meant less offence to Lord Temple than to any body: he revered the manes of their former friendship; he hoped the ashes were not extinguished past return. To all this Lord Temple said nothing; and when the House insisted on their giving their words that it should proceed no farther, Lord Temple sullenly endeavoured to avoid it by shifting the asking of pardon on Lord Lyttelton. The latter engaged with frankness to drop it—always the most sensible way when words have passed in public, which are sure of being prevented from farther discussion. Lord Lyttelton was known to want no spirit: Lord Temple had been miserably deficient.

The fate of the bill, which could not be procured by the sanction of the judges, Lord Mansfield was forced to take on himself. He spoke for two hours and half: his voice and manner, composed of harmonious solemnity, were the least graces of his speech. I am not averse to own that I never heard so much argument, so much sense, so much oratory united. His deviations into the abstruse minutiæ of the law served but as a foil to the luminous parts of the oration. Perhaps it was the only speech, that, in my time at least, had real effect; that is, convinced many persons. Nor did I ever know how true a votary I was to liberty, till I found that

1758. I was not one of the number staggered by that speech. I took as many notes of it as I possibly could; and, prolix as they would be, I would give them to the reader, if it would not be injustice to Lord Mansfield to curtail and mangle, as I should by the want of connection, so beautifull a thread of argumentation.

'Habeas Corpus Bill.'

Lord Temple made a feeble answer—yet the force of truth was still so great, that, notwithstanding the visible operation of Lord Mansfield's speech, they would not venture directly to reject the bill. Lord Hardwicke agreed that all the judges ought to have equal power in granting the writ, and said that he would move to order the judges to bring in such a bill against the next session. Lord Temple's friends seemed glad to catch at this proposal; and the bill was heard of no more! *

'Dropped.'

The complexion of the rest of the year was military. Even the softest penetralia of the court were threatened with storms. The Princess began to perceive an alteration in the ardour of Lord Bute, which grew less assiduous about her and increased towards her son. The earl had attained such an ascendant over the Prince, that he became more remiss to the mother: and no doubt it was an easier function to lead the understanding of a youth, than to keep up to the spirit required by an experienced woman. The Prince even dropped hints against women interfering in politics. These clouds, however, did not burst; and the creatures of the Princess

'Leicester House.'

* Till the year 1816, when this just and necessary measure passed with little notice, and no reference to the judges. E.

vindicated her from any breach with Lord Bute with as much earnestness as if their union had been to her honour. 1758.

Operations of the King of Prussia.

The King of Prussia opened one of his ablest campaigns. The same enemies still crouded upon him, though much of their vigour was abated by the extraordinary efforts they had made to overwhelm him: yet obliging him to make head against so many armies, his fall at last seemed inevitable. Sweden, involved in domestic broils, rather kept up his attention, and divided his forces, than hurt him actively. The unweildy numbers of Muscovites again advanced. The Czarina, inflexible in resentments, which she did not attend enough to the operations of government to enforce properly, had thought herself betrayed. Apraxin was recalled; the great Chancellor Bestucheff, inclined to England, was disgraced, and new generals commissioned to execute her vengeance. The Empress-queen had drained her own and her husband's dominions to collect a decisive force—yet the vivacity of the King of Prussia, instead of entrenching wholly on the defensive, though he disposed various armies to keep the Russians at bay and to cover Saxony, led him to a hardy step: after besieging and taking Schweidnitz in thirteen days, he instantaneously appeared in Moravia, the short road to Vienna. Daun had thought him preparing to attack Bohemia, when, to his surprize, he heard the King had opened the siege of Olmutz. On this theatre the alert monarch and the cautious marshal displayed all the resources of their art, and by the opposition of their characters, and the balance of

1758. their talents, showed each other in every light that could create admiration. But this is a theme beyond my flight:—suffice it to say, that Daun repaired his oversight by cutting off the King's convoys, and reducing him to raise the siege; and the King converted this check into new matter of glory, by suddenly starting from Daun, getting a march of two days, and piercing into Bohemia, where he made himself master of Konigsgratz, while Daun did not suspect that he had driven him from a siege to a conquest. In fact, it was not Daun alone that rescued Olmutz and saved Vienna: the Russians were pouring upon Brandenburgh, not more formidable by their designs than by their dreadfull manner of executing them. Savage cruelty and devastation attended their march. They beseiged Custrin with unspeakable fury, and reduced the brave governor to defend a mountain of ashes and a few ruinous walls—the next step was Berlin. But I am advanced too far into the year, and must look back to other operations.

'Operations of the King of Prussia.'

Mr. Pitt, no less enterprizing than Frederic, but a little less informed, and a good deal less disposed to listen to information, determined to strike some mighty stroke on his part, that might combine his name with the glory of that king, and cement and justify their harmony. Unfortunately, his mind was not purged of its vision of Rochfort, and he again chose the coast of France for the scene of his romance. A strong fleet was equipped of eighteen ships of the line, thirteen frigates, three sloops, four fire-ships, and two bomb-ketches, and carrying an army of fourteen thousand landmen and six thousand marines.

Expedition to St. Maloes.

1758.

'Expedition to St. Maloes.'

The Duke of Marlborough, on whom Lord George Sackville could not avoid attending, was appointed general. Commodore Howe was destined to lead the fleet: on which Sir Edward Hawke struck his flag; but, being persuaded to resume it, accompanied Lord Anson, who took the command himself The mode of volunteers, which the duke had always discouraged, now revived: Sir James Lowther, master of 40,000*l.* a year, Lord Downe, Sir John Armitage, and others, embarked with the expedition. Lord Granby at the same time came into the service, and was appointed colonel of the Blues; and George Townshend, now there was no more question of the Duke, returned to the army, and was restored on the foot of his former rank. The armament sailed on the first of June. Lord Anson, with the larger ships, kept out at sea; Howe led the transports, which for some days were kept back by contrary winds, but anchored on the fifth in Cancalle-bay, near St. Maloes. The troops landed without opposition; when the commanders (as in former expeditions) seeming dispatched, so scanty was their intelligence, to *discover* the coast of France, rather than to master it, soon perceived that the town was so strongly situated, and approachable only by a narrow causeway, that, after burning a parcel * of small vessels, they returned to their ships; and the French learned that they were not to be conquered by every Duke of Marlborough. The duke himself was personally brave, and was

* The King said to Lord Waldegrave, "I never had any opinion of it: we shall brag of having burnt their ships, and they, of having driven us away."

1758. 'Expedition to French coast.'

eager to land on the first possibility; but he had neither experience, nor information, nor probability on his side adequate to such a bravado. However, it was well for him that his miscarriage happened under the auspices of Pitt, not of Fox. Here, it was said, his grace and his troops remarked that Lord George Sackville was not among the first to court danger; and Howe, who never made a friendship but at the mouth of a cannon, had conceived and expressed strong aversion to him *. It is certain that both the duke and Lord George were so sick of naval expeditions, that, after parading before Granvelle and Cherbourg, they returned with the fleet to St. Helen's, and set out for the army in Germany, where the duke took the command of the English forces. General Blighe had been fetched from Ireland on that intent, but was obliged to cede to the superior influence of Marlborough †; and more cruelly was appointed to resume the thread of our silly expeditions, from which Mr. Pitt and the mob still expected I don't know what of glory. Blighe was an elderly man, of no talents, brave, but in every other shape unfit for the destined service, supposing there was such a thing as fitness for that service. The armament sailed again, and Prince Edward embarked with them: and that some

* They agreed so ill, that one day Lord George putting several questions to Howe, and receiving no answer, said, "Mr. Howe, don't you hear me? I have asked you several questions." Howe replied, "I don't love questions."

† The King would have hindered Lord George from going to Germany; but he preferred it to expeditions, and would go; and did, even without kissing the King's hand.

utility might at least be pretended from this vain expence, Prince Ferdinand, to flatter Pitt, wrote letter after letter to declare the great benefits he reaped from our expeditions, by which the attention and troops of France were divided: an affirmation of so little truth, that the Duke of Marlborough, in the hurry of their retreat, having left his silver tea-spoons behind him, the Duc d'Aiguillon, politely to mark contempt, sent them home by a cartel-ship. 1758.

Passage of the Rhine by Prince Ferdinand, and his victory at Crevelt.

But Prince Ferdinand, who thus complimented the English ministry on the wisdom of these idle measures, showed it was not from want of knowing how to perform realities. Having pushed the French beyond the Rhine, he passed it himself at Herven in sight of their whole army, and soon eclipsed the glory of that passage by defeating them at Crevelt, where they lost seven thousand men, and the Duc de Gisors, only son of Marshal Belleisle, an amiable and accomplished young man. The King bad Knyphausen thank the King of Prussia for giving him so able a general. The princess Gouvernante wrote to Prince Ferdinand to complain of his passing over part of the territories of the States. He replied, "He was sorry; it had been over a very small part, and he should not have violated even that, had he had the same Dutch guides that led the French to Hanover in the preceding year."

The French were commanded by the Count de Clermont, a prince of the blood, of no estimation: their discipline was so bad, that two-and-fifty officers went to amuse themselves at Paris without leave of the court. D'Etrèes, their best general,

1758. had been recalled by the intrigues of Madame Pompadour and her faction, whose interest was displayed in a remarkable instance. At a meeting of the marshals of France, D'Etrèes complained of a libel written against him, which he produced. Maillebois, attached to the mistress, said, "It would be right for the honour of the corps to have it inquired into; and the more so, because he believed the charge was well-grounded, as he had been informed by his son, who wrote the pamphlet." The declaration was frank: Maillebois was banished, and his son chastized, but gently; and indemnification was soon procured for both.

Defeats of Prince Ysenberg and Monsieur Chevert.

The victory of Crevelt did not draw on the consequences that were expected. Contades, the fourth commander dispatched into Germany by the fluctuating councils at Versailles, found employment for Prince Ferdinand without risking another battle; and the Duc de Broglio and the Prince de Soubise attacked and cut to pieces seven thousand Hessians under the Prince of Ysenberg; and would, it was feared, intercept the English troops under the Duke of Marlborough, who landed at Embden. This became more probable, as Monsieur Chevert formed a plan to burn one of Prince Ferdinand's bridges and to seize his magazines, and cut off Baron Imhoff, who was posted to secure the passage of the Rhine. But Imhoff, who soon perceived his own desperate situation, destroyed this well-concerted scheme, which failed by its very approach to success; for Imhoff would not stay to be surrounded, but with his little force

attacked Chevert (who commanded twelve thousand men) and dispersed them in less than half an hour, taking eleven pieces of cannon, their baggage, and a great number of prisoners. Chevert was one of the ablest officers in the French service; Imhoff, a man of so little capacity, that the talents of his life seemed to have been reserved for this sole occasion. The junction with the English was made, and Prince Ferdinand repassed the Rhine unmolested. 1758.

During these operations the parliament of England rose; and nothing worth notice happened but the conviction of Dr. Hensey, a poor physician, who had been taken up in the preceding year for a treasonable correspondence. It appeared that he was a pensioner of France, who gave him but an hundred a year, and thought it too much; threatening, in answer to his repeated sollicitations of invasion, that they would withdraw their allowance, unless he found means of giving them more material intelligence. The threat had such effect, that he gave them the first notice of the design on Rochfort. How he obtained it, I know not; but his close connection with D'Abreu, the Spanish resident, whose physician he was, and who visited him often in prison, and who obtained his pardon on the very morning that he was going to execution, made it probable that he was only a tool of that minister, known to wish ill to England. History of Dr. Hensey.

The election of a pope drew a momentary attention to Rome, which did not use to be forgotten because Europe was embroiled. Benedict XIV. was dead. Thirty-four cardinals Election of a pope.

1758. wished to raise Cardinal Cavalchini to the tiara: but he was disagreeable to the court of France, which endeavoured to deal with the Holy Ghost, in the more decent way of intrigue, to prevent his exaltation. Lanti, who had several benefices in France, was admonished not to vote for him; but Lanti was his intimate friend, and had the promise of being secretary of state. France applied too to the cardinal of York, on whom they had lately bestowed rich abbies: but his obstinacy always found out some virtue to justify itself; and when they pressed his father to dissuade him from voting for Cavalchini, young Stuart replied, "He had rather lose his head than violate his conscience." For twenty-four hours Cavalchini's party was inflexible. The French cardinals endeavoured to get the nomination put off till the arrival of the German Cardinal Roolt, who was supposed to have the secret of the court of Vienna: but all was in vain. The declaration was fixed; when the Cardinal de Luynes, finding no temperate measures would have any effect, produced a formal exclusion of Cavalchini. It occasioned great amazement and disgust. Of late years no such step had been practiced. The friends of Cavalchini let him for one night enjoy the dream of empire: it was not till next morning that his friend Lanti went to his cell, and announced the fatal veto. However he received the stroke in private, his public answer was sensible: he thanked the court of France for saving him from the tremendous station of being God's vicar upon earth. The ostensible reason of his exclusion was his attachment to the King of Sardinia;

'Election of a pope.'

the true one, his being devoted to the Jesuits. In the critical situation of religious affairs in France it was not thought proper to throw the weight of the court of Rome into the scale of those fathers, and to suffer at the head of the church a man who had written strongly in favour of the canonization of Cardinal Bellarmine. It was said, that the same exclusion would have been urged against Cardinal Durini, had he appeared on the lists before Cavalchini. Durini's crime was of a less public nature, but not a more remissible one: when nuntio in France, he had refused to visit Madame Pompadour. 1758.

Rezzonico, a simple Venetian bigot, not at all less addicted to the Jesuits than Cavalchini, ascended the papal chair. The revolution of affairs was singular; the state of Venice had been on the point, just when the late pope died, of incurring the penalty of excommunication for disobedience to the Holy See. Rezzonico pope.

The English fleet had again sailed from St. Helen's to attack the French coast. Prince Edward went on board Mr. Howe's ship, and General Blighe led the land forces. They soon anchored before Cherbourg, landed, and the next day without opposition entered the town. There they destroyed the bason formed at great expence, burned some small vessels, and brought away the brass cannon and mortars, which were reposed for some days in Hyde-Park, to the high amusement of the populace, and then with equal ostentation drawn through the city and deposited at the Tower. But the news of a much more considerable conquest arrived at the Taking of Cherbourg.

1758. same time: Cape Breton was again fallen under the power of England. Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst, with a fleet of one hundred and fifty sail and fourteen thousand men, had appeared before Louisbourg on the 2d of June, and by the end of July made themselves masters of the place, after destroying or taking five men of war that lay to cover it. The bravery of the English and the want of spirit in the French never appeared in greater opposition: the former making their attacks on spots which the French deemed impregnable, threw them into utter dismay; and dictated very quick and unjustifiable submission. Boscawen's rough courage was fully known before; Amherst was a cool, sensible man, whose conduct, now first experienced in command, shone to great advantage; and the activity of spirit in Wolfe, who accompanied him, contributed signally to the reduction of the place. The colours taken there were carried with great parade to St. Paul's.

'Cape Breton taken.'

Other events in America.

The other operations in America were not equally succesfull. Lord Howe was killed in a skirmish, in which he gained the advantage, as the army was marching against Ticonderoga; before which place Abercrombie was defeated with the loss of two thousand men, and from whence he made a precipitate retreat. Colonel Bradstreet, however, took Fort Frontenac; and General Forbes, Fort Duquesne. The French, indeed, behaved ill every where. The ambitious plans of their government, their perfidious breach of treaties, and their airs of superiority, were not at all supported by

genius in their ministers, conduct in their officers, or bravery in their troops. The most remarkable advantage they obtained against us was in an affair, in which, though the bravery of our officers and troops was gallant and firm beyond expectation, yet there certainly appeared neither genius in the ministers who directed, nor conduct in the commanders who were entrusted with the execution—if I may use the term execution—of an affair, in which there was neither plan nor common sense. This was the unhappy action at St. Cas. 1758.

Affair at St. Cas.

The fleet, after leaving Cherbourg, hovered about the coast of France; and at last the troops were landed on the other side of St. Maloes, in the bay St. Lunaire. The new Lord Howe contented himself with setting them on shore; and the weather proving very tempestuous, he left them there, with directions to come to him at St. Cas by land. What he left them there to do, or why General Blighe sufferred himself to be left there, no man living could ever tell or guess. The troops, as if landed on some new-discovered coast of America, roved about the country for some days, even without artillery, till they heard that the Duc d'Aiguillon, with a considerable force, was within a few miles. A retreat to the ships was immediately ordered. The French advanced, but keeping at a distance till their prey was sure. Our troops were to descend the rocks; among which they were no sooner embarassed, than the French appeared on the rising grounds above them; and before the grenadier-guards, who made the last stand to cover the embarkation, could get on

1758. board, the French fell on them in a hollow way, and made a dreadfull slaughter. Yet the intrepidity of the soldiers and of the young officers of the guards was displayed in the most heroic manner—but in vain—many of the latter fell. General Dury was shot, and fell into the sea. Sir John Armitage, a young volunteer of fortune, was lost, and several officers of quality and figure were made prisoners. The folly of this exploit, the inhumanity of exposing gallant men to carnage for no end imaginable but to satisfy the obstinate ostentation of a minister, who was as much determined to do something as he was really determined to do well, was contrasted, with great severity, on our nation, by the tender attentions, politeness, and good-nature of the Duc d'Aiguillon, who spared his victims the moment he dared to spare, and comforted and relieved the prisoners and wounded, as if he had been their own commander. Such was the conclusion of Mr. Pitt's invasions of France, the idleness or fruitlesness of which took off from the judgment of his other attempts and successes; though, while this country exists in independence, not even his own ambition, which prompted his attempts, can detract from the merit of his undertaking, retrieving, re-establishing, the affairs of Britain.

'Affair at St. Cas.'

General Blighe, the passive tool in this Quixotism, was the only sufferer after their return. He was so ill received, that he found it necessary to resign his regiment and government, and saw himself undone by being sent, when a veteran officer of horse, to command a naval expedition. He had been

actuated, during the course of these enterprizes, by a young Lord Fitz-morrice and the adventurer Clarke, who diverted himself from the ships with the difficulties his comrades found in reimbarking. But he was on the point of falling under the punishment due to his arrogance: depending on his interest in the general, he had broken the arrest under which he had been put, for some misdemeanour, by Cunningham, his commanding officer; the same Cunningham, whose handsome behaviour at Minorca I have mentioned: at his return from thence he had been preferred by the Duke, who told him he had been misinformed of his character, and was sorry he had not sooner known his merit. At their return from St. Cas, Cunningham insisted on bringing Clarke before a court-martial. The Princess unwisely countenanced the latter, who had made himself odious to the army, and who escaped; Cunningham being suddenly ordered on the expedition to Martinico and Guadaloupe, at the latter of which places he unfortunately died, when his services were in the fairest train of being rewarded. 1756.

We left the King of Prussia in apprehension of seeing his own dominions become the theatre of war. To detail his actions would destroy the idea of their rapidity. He had flown from the siege of Olmutz to invade Bohemia, attacking his enemies every where, while his generals could scarce preserve themselves on the defensive. Dohna was watching the Russians rather than opposing them: Manteuffel could scarce make a firmer stand even against the Swedes. Prince Henry

1758. was threatened as he covered Dresden. The King, always present where the nearest danger pressed, appeared before the ruined walls of Custrin, gave battle to the Russians, and after a bloody contention from nine in the morning till seven at night, obliged that savage and undaunted people to retire. Above twenty thousand had fallen*, yet slaughter seemed to inspire them with fierceness rather than with dismay: when obliged at last to avoid a butchery which they had tempted rather than repelled, they retired in good order, and even claimed the honour of the day. The trifling loss sufferred by the King's troops, and the consequences of the victory, which delivered him from those barbarians for that campaign, contented a Prince, who had been forced into a hero, and who knew that many such successes were necessary, before he could lay aside the sword. He left Dohna to adjust the controversy of victory, and marched to the relief of his brother. He accomplished it by joining him, and Daun retired. The Swedes marched back with precipitation on the defeat of the Muscovites.

Battle of Custrin, and relief of Dresden.

Disputes with Holland.

About this time we were on the point of a rupture with Holland. That country was sunk in power and reputation, laboured with debts and factions, was influenced by no genius, and had lost all military spirit. In such a situation, no wonder they were not desirous of again beholding the armies of their neighbour King on the frontiers of Flanders; the only spot where those universal aspirers, the French, know how to shine.

* It was said, "no people ever took so much killing."

1758.

'Disputes with Holland.'

Animated by no zeal of a common cause, the Dutch, who were determined not to engage on our side, thought the second step of prudence was to profit of our calamities. The States winked commercially at supplies furnished by their merchants to the French colonies, and, a little more than commercially, transported*, not only their commodities, but military stores. Our privateers, as apt to infringe treaties as the wisest burgomaster, and who distinguished between friendship and enmity by no rule but that which constituted contraband goods, made very free with the ships of our friends employed by our enemies. Those friends complained with as little modesty as if they had acted like friends: we replied with firmness, and advised them to avoid giving provocation. They grew more violent, without growing more impartial. Their ships were condemned as legal captures. Their merchants presented remonstrance after remonstrance to the Princess Gouvernante, pressing her to proceed to more open declarations. She, who knew that clamour was not power but in its own country, told them, she would not declare, unless they would augment their forces. The Dutch endeavoured to draw Spain and Denmark, who had sufferred in the same manner from the same causes, though in a less degree, into an association against what they called our piracies. The Princess was dying: it was apprehended that her death would let loose all the interested fury of the Dutch traders. The Duke of Newcastle ordered Mr.

* They were permitted to trade to the French colonies, a privilege denied to them in time of peace.

1758. Yorke to make strong promises of satisfaction to Holland: this was without communicating with Mr. Pitt; who receiving duplicates of complaints, empowered Mr. Yorke to give assurances of much fainter complexion. Mr. Yorke answered, that was now too late; he had been commissioned to give, and had accordingly given encouragement to hope for fuller redress. Pitt, with becoming warmth, expostulated with Newcastle, and bad him get out of the scrape as he could. More of this dispute will appear hereafter.

Assassination of the King of Portugal.

While Europe was attending to the scenes of blood exhibited by most of its formidable powers, its attention was called off by an event very foreign to those struggles. An attempt of assassination was made on the person of the King of Portugal. One night, as he was returning in his chaise, with very few attendants, from an affair of gallantry, he was attacked and shot through the arm: the assassins thought their work compleated. The King was not wounded mortally, and recovered in a few weeks. The court's ignorance of the murderers, and of the cause of the blow, prompted them to endeavour to conceal the fact. Their ministers in foreign courts were ordered to give out that the King had had a fall in his palace, had hurt his arm, and that during his incapacity of signing papers, the Queen would assume the reins of government. A tale too ill-concerted, not to divulge the secret, supposing the assassination of a King could have remained a secret. Yet the notoriety of the fact led the public to no light into it. Revenge was undoubtedly the groundwork:

1758.

but whether the revenge of an injured husband, of a dishonoured house, or of more holy murderers, all the curiosity of the public could not ascertain. The lady, supposed in question, was of illustrious blood—yet, jealous and vindictive as Portuguese and Spaniards are, they seldom carry their delicacy of honour so high as to think the wound irreperable, if given by their sovereign. But there was another order of men, on whose ideas the generality reasoned differently: an order not so scrupulous about receiving affronts, or of returning injuries, where more essential interests than their honour is concerned. These were the Jesuits: they had long assumed dominion over Paraguay, and had established an œconomy of government there, which, while it ensured their authority by endearing them to the governed, almost made amends, by the felicity they established among the people of that province, for the numberless mischiefs they have brought on other countries. In short, the Jesuits alone indemnified the Americans of that region for the loss of their liberty, and atoned for some of the cruelties exercised by European conquerors. But the good fathers were not content with dispensing blessings as proxies for others: the Paraguayans must own their sceptre as well as their beneficence. I do not pretend to pierce the mysterious veil thrown over the transactions of that country, nor to assert the tale of their actually crowning one of their order. It is sufficient to say, that the court of Lisbon had entertained the strongest jealousy of their proceedings; had determined to break the charm by which they excluded their own sovereign from interfering in his own

'Assassination of the King of Portugal.'

1758. domain; and had actually engaged that upright pontif, Benedict XIV. to discountenance their ambitious proceedings. The fathers even apprehended severe decrees from the Vatican. At that crisis the life of the King of Portugal was attempted—no wonder the Jesuits were suspected.

'Portugal.' The court of Lisbon, which in its confusion had formed so improbable a story to account for the disappearance of the King, did not act by any means, in its subsequent proceedings, with equal inconsideration. The consequences of this affair ran into the following year; but being totally unconnected with every transaction that I propose to relate, I shall throw the whole of this Portuguese history into this place. The first minister was Carvalho*, a bold, politic man, who hated the Jesuits. For some months the court observed a total silence: nobody was apprehended, no suspicion discovered. Till Carvalho had got a clue that led to the darkest recesses of the mystery, it was affected to forget or treat the whole as an accident of a private nature. How he wound himself into the secret, I do not pretend to say: there were many accounts, probably meer conjectures: it is an anecdote never likely to be known. The first notification to the public that the conspiracy was discovered, was made by seizing at the same instant, at a ball, the whole families of Tavora and Aveiro, houses of the first rank and noblest birth in Portugal, and the chiefs of which were possessed of the greatest posts and employments about the King. To them, till assembled in the

* Marquis of Pombal.

snare, the King wore a face of the most unsuspecting favour. The Marchioness of Tavora was a woman of fierce and lofty spirit; one of the married young ladies, the person beloved by the King. And hence the whole dark plot was unravelled; and the two different conjectures of the public on the cause of the assassination appeared to have been both true, for they were combined together. The Jesuits had worked on the pride and jealousy of the injured husband and his house, till those rash noblemen thought to revenge themselves, while they only acted the revenge of the Jesuits. Enough was confessed to establish the guilt of both the one and the other. How far the plot was spread, and how far its views extended, perhaps the conspirators themselves knew not: whatever they discovered beyond their actual guilt, and the participation of the Jesuits, was locked up in the penetralia of the palace. The public learned enough in knowing the latter; perhaps too much in seeing the dreadfull executions of several of the principal conspirators, and in *not* seeing some justice done on the most guilty, the instigators of the crime. The old marchioness was beheaded, and died with as heroic spirit as if she sufferred for her country. Her husband and son-in-law sufferred the most exquisite torments. A hapless youth, her son, shared her fate, with others of his house. One of the actual assassins, a hired bravo, or servant, was put to extreme torture. All the Jesuits and their effects were seized, and their persons imprisoned, while leave was demanded from Rome to punish them in a more exemplary manner. But

1758. 'Portugal.'

1758. there the strong sense of Benedict was no longer on the throne—and an absolute Prince, wounded by the practices of priests, did not dare to proceed to extremities. The dress of religion guarded men, the more guilty for violating the duties of their profession. As the Pope's permission to inflict capital punishments could not be obtained, the court of Lisbon took upon itself to embark the whole order of Jesuits, and sent them to Rome to the patron of their crimes; reserving only a few of the most guilty, whose fate is still a secret*.

'Portugal.'

I cannot quit this subject without taking notice of the manifesto issued by the court on the detection of the conspiracy. The spirit of despotic government never defined itself with so much truth, or with less modesty, than in that singular piece: I say nothing of the ridiculous bombast in which it is cloathed; but the following maxims of an arbitrary court ought to be inscribed in our seats of legislature and of law, by the side of the humane rules of our government, that we might know how justly to value the one, and avoid whatever tends to approach it to the other. "Whereas," says the Portuguese manifesto, "all presumptions of the law are held for so many every way unquestionable truths, and for so many full and uncontrovertible proofs, and lay the person, who has them against him, under the incumbency of producing other contrary proofs of such strength and efficacy, as may conclusively destroy them, &c." and the next paragraph adds,

* Malagrida, the chief criminal, was executed long afterwards, but under the clumsy pretence of being condemned by the Inquisition.

"Whereas, the law presumes, that he who has been once bad, will be always bad in crimes of the same species with that he has already committed, &c." Could one imagine that two assertions, so repugnant to all ideas of justice, were produced as instances of condescension and moderation? and yet, in the beginning of the first of these paragraphs, it is maintained, that the presumptions of the law, which condemn the ring-leaders or heads of the said conspiracy to be punished thereby with all the rigours of the law, would amply suffice, without the proofs which the court had obtained. Are Lisbon and London so distant as these notions, and our establishment of juries, and the methods by which the latter are bound to proceed? 1758.

'English army in Germany.'

While our army in Germany lay on the defensive, the fatal distempers incident to a camp raged there, and in particular carried off the Duke of Marlborough. The command of the English devolved on Lord George Sackville, between whom and Prince Ferdinand there was by no means any cordiality. Both liked to govern, neither was disposed to be governed. Prince Ferdinand had gained an ascendant over the Duke of Marlborough, and Lord George had lost it; sufficient ground-work for their enmity. Lord Granby, the next in rank to Lord George, was an honest, open-hearted young man, of undaunted spirit and no capacity; and if he wanted any other recommendation to Prince Ferdinand besides these ductile qualities, he drank as profusely as a German. Lord George's haughtiness lost this young man, as he had the Duke of Marl-

1758. borough; Prince Ferdinand knew better how to bend in order to domineer.

In the mean time the King of Prussia, who had performed such shining actions in this campaign, was again reminded by Marshal Daun, that the solid glory of generalship, if not the brilliancy, might be disputed with him. As the King lay in the strong camp of Bautzen, extending to Hochkirchen, covering, as he thought, Misnia, Lusatia, and Brandenburgh, preserving a communication with his brother, and at hand to throw succours into Silesia, Daun, marching in the dead of night, surprized his right wing, and the first notice of the attack was given in the heart of the Prussian camp. There fell Marshal Keith; and Prince Francis of Brunswic, mounting his horse on the first alarm, lost his head by a cannon-ball. In this critical moment the King possessed himself, that is, coolness and ardour: he flew to the thick of the contest, and after leading on his troops four times to the most desperate service, retreated in good order. He lost 7000 men, but scarce any ground or reputation. Surprized in the night, he behaved with as much conduct as if he had made the assault, and retired from the conflict as if only from a disappointment. Twice now had he been defeated by Marshal Daun; both times he appeared greater from his activity and resources. It was still more extraordinary, when, after his loss at Hochkirchen, he acted in the style of conqueror. He prevented Daun from penetrating into Silesia, and hastened into that province himself, where Neiss and Cosel were besieged by the

Defeat at Hochkirchen.

Austrian generals Harsch and Deville. On the King's approach both sieges were instantly raised. Daun, the check and illustrator of Frederic's glory, who, by beating the King, had only precipitated his succour of his own dominions, had no choice left, but to attack Dresden. He led a great army to besiege it, but Schmettau, the governor, having burned the suburbs and retired into the city, before Daun could begin any regular operations against the place, the King of Prussia was returned from his successes in Silesia, and concluded the campaign with obliging his conqueror to abandon Dresden. After this the several armies went into winter-quarters. 1758. Sieges of Neiss, Cosel, and Dresden raised.

Nov. 23d the parliament met. Pitt opened the business of the session with art, seeming to avoid all ostentation of power, while he assumed every thing to himself but the disposition of the money. That load he left on the Treasury, and vast, he said, it would be; heaps of millions must be raised—thus affecting to heighten rather than disguise the expence and the difficulties of our situation—we could not make the same war as the French, or as our ancestors did, for the same money. He painted the distress of France, and coloured high what had been done by ourselves. He called on any who disapproved the measures taken or taking, to speak out, to discuss them, or to propose others *then;* not to lie in wait in hopes of distresses, and then find fault; though for himself he hoped he should never be judged by events. If there were any secret Austrians in the house, instead of dispersing pamphlets, he invited them to speak out. This Parliament meets.

1758. was particularly levelled at Doddington, who had just published severe reflections on Pitt and the Prussian cause, in a piece called Examination of a Letter attributed to General Blighe. The addresses of both Houses were couched in strong terms of panegyric. Prince Ferdinand was commended by name; and Sir Richard Grosvenor, a young converted Tory, who seconded the address, called Mr. Pitt a blazing star. Other thanks were moved and voted to Admiral Boscawen and General Amherst for the conquest of Cape Breton, of which Sir John Philipps said, he hoped no ministry would ever rob us. Beckford re-echoed this, and spoke on the superiority we had now attained: all the Duke of Marlborough's battles had given us no real superiority. Pitt replied, it was too early to decide on what we would or would not restore: the Duke of Marlborough had acquired superiority; the peace of Utrecht gave it away. And then (whether equity or flattery dictated the declaration) he protested, that at the peace he would not give up an iota of our allies for any British consideration. This, it was pretended, was to satisfy the Landgrave of Hesse, who was afraid of being abandoned. The Duke of Newcastle had early presented an address from the University of Cambridge, in which that reverend body were by no means penurious of compliments on the Hanoverian victory. It was even resented at court that the city of London had been more reserved—so much were times changed! a few years before it was thought lucky if the city did not pass some censure even on success, if it came from that quarter.

Addresses of thanks.

The victory of Dettingen had been stigmatized as an escape. 1758.
The prisoners now brought from Louisbourg raised the numbers of that nation captive here to twenty-four thousand; and the King of France, to increase the burthen of our expence, withdrew his allowance to them. Admiral Osborn, too, received the thanks of the Commons for the activity with which he had guarded the Mediterranean, and, by preventing succours, contributed to the conquest of Cape Breton. He was a man of singular modesty and bravery, and had lost an eye by the palsy during the hardship of his service; but being allied to Admiral Byng, not the least notice was taken of him by the King. An army of near 95,000 British troops, and near 7000 foreigners, were voted, and above twelve millions of money raised for the service of the ensuing year: an enormous sum to be furnished by a country no larger than and so indebted as England, but exceeded by the great benefits to which it contributed. I mention these things in gross, and very cursorily; they will be found at large in all our common histories. Were I master of them, I should touch on them with reluctance. The system of money, the great engine on which all modern affairs turn, is become of so complicated a nature, and labours with such ungracious intricacies, that no beauties of style, scarce any clearness of expression, can reconcile it to a reader of common indolence. How such systems would have perplexed the elegance of Roman or Greek historians! what eloquent periods could they have

'Army voted.'

1758. formed, encumbered with three-per-cents, discounts, premiums, South-sea annuities, and East India bonds!

Affair of Dr. Shebbear.

Nov. 28th, Dr. Shebbear, author of several letters to the people of England, having been tried for many treasonable expressions in the sixth of them, was sentenced by the King's Bench to stand in the pillory, to be imprisoned for three years, and then to find security of 1000*l.* for his good behaviour for seven years following—the latter part of the sentence importing in effect perpetual imprisonment, for both the fortune and character of the man were at the lowest ebb. Though he had been the most open champion of the Jacobite cause, though his libel tended to point out the mischiefs entailed on this country by union with Hanover*, and though the bitterest parts of the work were a satire on King William and King George the First, his venom by no means flowed from principle. He had long declared that he would write himself into a place or the pillory; the latter of which proved his fate, as Mr. Pelham, the purchaser of opponents, was dead, and as Shebbear's pen, though not without force, could not find the way to be hired by the Duke of Newcastle. The most remarkable part of this trial was the Chief Justice Mansfield laying down for law, that satires even on dead

* The motto was with some humour taken from the Revelations: "And I looked, and behold a pale horse [alluding to the white horse in the arms of Hanover] and his name that sat on him was Death, and Hell followed." Chap. 6, v. 8

Kings were punishable. Whatever obsolete statutes may pronounce, can any thing be more foreign to the genius of English constitution, nay, to the practice even of arbitrary countries? Where are tyrants sacred, when once dead? Adieu! veracity and history, if the King's Bench is to appreciate your expressions! If the dead are not to be censured, it is only pronouncing history a libel, and the annals of Britain shall grow as civil things as the sermons at St. James's. 1758.

It was a misfortune that Shebbear had gone such enormous lengths, that the warmest friends to the liberty of the press could scarce lament the handle taken to restrain its licentiousness. On the 5th of December the man stood in the pillory, having a footman holding an umbrella to keep off the rain. The mob received him with three huzzas: he had had the confidence to disperse printed bills, *inviting the friends of the liberty of the press and of old England to be at Charing Cross by twelve o'clock of that day, to see the British champion.* Colonel Robert Brudenel, a hot-headed and foolish young officer, threatened the sheriff for the indulgence allowed to Shebbear; and the King's Bench afterwards actually punished him. Insignificant as the man, and scandalous as his cause was, such periods are often critical to liberty. The court victorious, the minister popular, an arbitrary magistrate, a worthless criminal, officers undiscerning and ready to act any violence, when their master is affronted—how little was wanted to roll the machine of power to any eminence! 'Shebbear.'

The miscarriages at St. Maloes and St. Cas, and the slender

1758. advantages accruing even from success at Cherbourg, had a little opened Mr. Pitt's eyes. He could not help seeing that the slaughter at St. Cas was not very preferable to the bloodless return from Rochfort. He recollected that Conway had offerred to be as rash as Blighe, though having at the same time thrown judgment into his plan. If Blighe was punished for exposing his troops, and Mordaunt and Conway for bringing back theirs in safety, the implication was that Mr. Pitt would pardon nothing but victory. These or some such reflections made him change his behaviour to Conway. Both the brothers being in waiting at Kensington, Pitt took Lord Hertford aside, and told him he knew the nicety of the subject on which he was going to speak: that a new expedition being projected to the West Indies, and Hobson appointed to the command, he (Pitt) desired to explain to his lordship, that no opposition from him had prevented Mr. Conway from being employed on it, as the latter had so earnestly sollicited to be. The case had stood thus: one day finding the Duke of Newcastle, Marshal Ligonier, and the King's ministers, consulting who should command the expedition, he (Pitt) had said, "Perhaps my presence lays you under difficulties, but I object to nobody; pray consider who is most proper, and I shall be for him." That he then retired to the other end of the room, while a list was formed of Conway, Cornwallis, Lord Albemarle, Hobson, and Moyston, which Lord Ligonier immediately carried to the King, who chose Hobson. Pitt added to Lord Hertford, "He was sorry things had gone so far; he

'Pitt's behaviour to Conway.'

now thought of Mr. Conway as he had done formerly, though he could not give up his private opinion about Rochfort—yet he should be concerned if Mr. Conway was not employed." On these overtures Conway visited Pitt, neglecting nothing that might procure him to be sent on action. He was soon after commissioned to settle with the French a cartel for the exchange of prisoners, put upon the staff, and the following summer commanded in the lines at Chatham—but it went no farther: Pitt, unapt to forget or to forgive, seemed to have made these acknowledgments and reperations to his own character, not to Conway's; and while Pitt would lend no hand to restore him to service, the Duke of Newcastle, supposing Conway more attached to the Duke of Cumberland than to him, was glad to keep him down, and to let the obstructions be imputed to Pitt. It was natural they should: Pitt took on himself the province of war and foreign operations: the whole domestic he left to Newcastle, and, except from foreign ministers, would receive neither visits nor court. He lived in the same recluse manner as when a valetudinary patriot, indulging his own unsociable humour, and acquiring popularity, while he kept off friends and attachments. Yet some symptoms now and then appeared of deeper designs. Munchausen having presented an ample bill of extraordinaries for forage, &c. Pitt affected to be much offended at its exorbitance, said the whole should be laid before the House, and the members should be summoned to examine and consider the estimates. On this pretence he sent circular letters to

1758.

'Pitt's conduct in ministry.'

1758. the Tories, whom the Treasury never used to invite to any parliamentary attendance. Nothing could be more artfull than this step. Pitt knew himself not agreable to the Whigs, the whole body of which were cantoned out in attachments to the Dukes of Newcastle, Devonshire, and Bedford, and to Fox. The Scotch were devoted to Argyle, or looked up to Lord Bute. The Tories had no leader. This summons captivated them, and at the same time tied up their civil gratitude from exercising any rigour on the Hanoverian accounts. Nay, whatever was demanded, was granted or allowed with such inconsiderate facility, that Lord Mansfield, to stigmatize Pitt's measures and profusion, and the parliament's condescension, called it *The South-sea year*.

'Lord Arran.' At the end of the year died Lord Arran, an inoffensive old man, the last male of the illustrious house of Ormond. He was chancellor of Oxford, and much respected by the Jacobites, who had scarce any partizans left in whom they might venerate even a noble name. Sir George Lee died at the same time.

Disgrace of the Cardinal de Bernis. In France happened a sudden revolution, as soon forgotten as it had been unforeseen. The Cardinal de Bernis was the new prime minister. He had an easy talent for trifling poetry; it was his whole merit and his whole fortune. Madame Pompadour was pleased with some of his incense offerred to her, and first sent him to Venice, then to the Hague, where he distinguished himself by an intriguing vivacity. These qualifications and his attachment to her seemed solid enough to the mistress to fit the Abbé-Comte de Bernis for the govern-

ment of France, where even these superficial talents were not outshined, so exhausted in that country was the vein of genius. Bernis was made a cardinal, and amassed benefices to the amount of 14,000*l.* a year; but was scarce settled in that exalted station before he received a *lettre de cachet* as he was going to bed, ordering him to retire to his bishoprick by ten the next morning. The cause of this rapid fall was imputed to his own folly. He who had scrupled to receive no benefits from the mistress, nay, whose flatteries had obtained the greatest, and whose conscience had stooped to owe to her interest the first dignity in the church, grew at once conscientiously ungratefull, and arrogantly absurd, refusing to wait on her in her apartment, and to communicate in the dignity of the purple with a woman of so unsanctimonious a character. The world laughed at his impertinent pretences, and she punished them. Lord Granville, hearing the swift progress of this meteor, said, "Soh! his ministry has been almost as short as mine!" 1758.

At this stage I shall make a pause in my work, uncertain whether ever to be resumed, though I am rather inclined to prolong it to the conclusion of the war. I warn my readers, however, not to expect as much intelligence and information in any subsequent pages of these Memoires as may have appeared in the preceding. During the former period I lived in the center of business, was intimately connected with many of the chief actors, was eager in politics, indefatigable in heaping up knowledge and materials for my work. Now, Conclusion.

1758. detached from those busy scenes, with many political connections dropped or dissolved, indifferent to events, and indolent, I shall have fewer opportunities of informing myself or others. And here perhaps it may not be improper, or unwelcome to the reader, if I say some words on the author of these Memoires: the frankness of the manner will prove it flows from no vain-glory; yet to take off all such appearance, and to avoid a nauseous egotism, I shall make use of the third person.

'Author's own character.' Horace Walpole, without the least tincture of ambition, had a propensity to faction, and looked on the mischief of civil disturbances as a lively amusement. Indignation at the persecution raised against his father, and prejudices contracted by himself, conspired with his natural impetuosity of temper to nourish this passion. But coming into the world when the world was growing weary of faction, and some of the objects dying or being removed, against whom his warmth had been principally directed, maturity of reason and sparks of virtue extinguished this culpable ardour. Balanced for a few years between right and wrong, happily for him virtue preponderated early enough to leave him some merit in the option. Arts, books, painting, architecture, antiquities, and those amiable employments of a tranquil life, to which in the warmest of his political hours he had been fondly addicted, assumed an entire empire over him. The circumstances too of the times contributed to make him withdraw from the scene of business. With Newcastle he had determined never

to connect: Fox's behaviour on the case of Mr. Byng had rooted out his esteem, and the coldness discovered by Fox on Walpole's refusing to concur in all his politics, had in a manner dissolved their friendship. Of Pitt he retained the best opinion; but the wanton exposure of so many lives at the affair of St. Cas, and in those other visionary attempts on the coast of France, had painted Pitt on his mind as a man whose thirst of glory was inconsistent with humanity; and being himself strongly tinctured with tenderness, he avoided any farther intercourse with a minister, who was Great with so little reluctance. 1758.

'Author's impartiality.'

Thus, without disgrace, disappointment, or personal disgust, Walpole, at the age of forty-one*, abandoned the theatre of affairs; and retaining neither resentment to warp, nor friendship to biass him, he thinks himself qualified to give some account of transactions, which few men have known better, and of which scarce any can speak with equal impartiality. He has not falsified a circumstance to load any man; he has not denied a wrong act to excuse himself. Yet lest even this unreserve should not be thought sufficient, lest some secret motives should be supposed to have influenced his opinions, at least his narrative, he will lay open to the reader his nearest sentiments. Severity in some of the characters will be the most striking objection. His dislike to a few persons probably sharpened his eyes to their faults, but he hopes never blinded him to their virtues—lest it should have done, especially in so inflammeable a nature, he

* At the end of 1758.

1758. admonishes the reader of his greatest prejudices, as far as they could have risen from any provocation. From the Duke of Cumberland, Mr. Pelham, and Lord Hardwicke, he had received trifling offence. To the two last he avows he had strong aversion. From Mr. Fox, as I have said, he had felt coldness and ingratitude. By his uncle and the Duke of Devonshire he had been injured—by the former basely betrayed; yet of none of these has he omitted to speak with praise when he could find occasion. Of Lord Hardwicke had he known a virtue, he would have told it: for now, when his passions are subsided, when affection and veneration for truth and justice preponderate above all other considerations, would he sacrifice the integrity of these Memoires, his favorite labour, to a little revenge that he shall never taste? No; let his narration be measured by this standard, and it will be found that the unamiableness of the characters he blames imprinted those dislikes, as well as private distaste to some of them. The King, the Duke of Newcastle, and others, who do not appear in these writings with any signal advantage, never gave him the most distant cause of dissatisfaction.

'Author avows his prejudices.'

How far his own character may have concurred towards forming his opinions may be calculated from the following picture, impartial as far as a man can know himself.

Walpole had a warm conception, vehement attachments, strong aversions; with an apparent contradiction in his temper —for he had numerous caprices, and invincible perseverance. His principles tended to republicanism, but without any of its austerity; his love of faction was unmixed with any

1758.

'Author's own character.'

aspiring. He had great sense of honour, but not great enough, for he had too much weakness to resist doing wrong, though too much sensibility not to feel it in others. He had a great measure of pride, equally apt to resent neglect, and scorning to stoop to any meanness or flattery. A boundless friend; a bitter, but a placable enemy. His humour was satyric, though accompanied with a most compassionate heart. Indiscreet and abandoned to his passions, it seemed as if he despised or could bear no constraint; yet this want of government of himself was the more blameable, as nobody had greater command of resolution whenever he made a point of it. This appeared in his person: naturally very delicate, and educated with too fond a tenderness, by unrelaxed temperance and braving all inclemency of weathers, he formed and enjoyed the firmest and unabated health. One virtue he possessed in a singular degree—disinterestedness and contempt of money—if one may call that a virtue, which really was a passion. In short, such was his promptness to dislike superiors, such his humanity to inferiors, that, considering how few men are of so firm a texture as not to be influenced by their situation, he thinks, if he may be allowed to judge of himself, that had either extreme of fortune been his lot, he should have made a good prince, but not a very honest slave.

Finished Oct. 27, 1759.

Lord Oxford's Memoirs

Duke of Newcastle

MEMOIRES

OF

THE YEAR 1759.

Verbis restituit rem.

1759.

'Author's motives in continuing the work.'

THE conclusion of the reign which furnished the preceding Memoires arrived so soon after the period where I quitted my narration, and was terminated by such a scene of glory, that it would be unpardonable to break off the thread in the most interesting moment of our annals. The particular events will be detailed by many writers, more accurately perhaps, and more circumstantially: but as I am accustomed to relate our story with exact fidelity to the impressions it made on me, the picture of so memorable an æra drawn by an eye-witness must, with all its faults and prejudices, be more striking to future readers, than the cold and critical detail which men less partial may hereafter retrace and digest on a regular plan. These volumes, however, having swelled to a bulk far beyond my

1759. first intention, I shall endeavour to restrain this sketch to as compact dimensions as perspicuity will admit of. Descriptions of battles and victories I have always avoided, as not coming within the scope of my purpose, and from my ignorance in military transactions. Even the glorious campaigns which will be the chief subjects of the two years I am going to write of, will be but slightly touched: their consequences alone are my object. Intrigues of the cabinet, or of parliament, scarce existed at that period. All men were, or seemed to be, transported with the success of their country, and content with an administration which outwent their warmest wishes, or made their jealousy ashamed to show itself. Few new characters appeared on the stage. One episode* indeed there was, in which less heroic affections were concerned; but having given rise to no memorable catastrophe, nor disturbed the shining order of events, it will not demand a long narration, though it will diversify the story, and, by the intermixture of human passions, serve to convince posterity that such a display of immortal actions as illustrate the following pages is not the exhibition of a fabulous age.

'A memorable æra.'

The winter of this great year was not memorable. I shall briefly skim the events of it. The chancellorship of Oxford was vacant by the death of Lord Arran†. The candidates

* The story of Lord George Sackville.

† The late Earl of Arran was only brother of the last Duke of Ormond, and had been elected chancellor of Oxford, on the forfeiture of his brother, to show the devotion of the University to that family and to the Jacobite cause.

were the Earls of Westmorland * and Litchfield †, and Trevor Bishop of Durham. The last, who had the appearance of a court-candidate, was yet Tory enough not to make him despair of success. Lord Litchfield's education, principles, and connections were still more favorable to *his* hopes. He lived in the neighbourhood, was unalterably good-humoured, and if he did not make the figure that his youth had promised, the Jacobites could not reproach him, as he had drowned his parts in the jovial promotion of their cause—but of late he had warped a little from what they thought loyalty. Lord Westmorland was an aged man, of gravity and dignity, married to a Cavendish, and formerly so attached to the house of Hanover, that he commanded the very body of troops which King George I. had been obliged to send to Oxford to teach the University the only kind of passive obedience which they did not approve. But having fallen into the intimacy of Lord Chesterfield and Lord Cobham during the opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, his regiment ‡ was taken from him, and his resentment, which was not so versatile as theirs, had led him to imbibe all the nonsensical tenets of the Jacobites.

1759. 'Election of chancellor of Oxford.'

* John Fane, Earl of Westmorland, married Mary, only daughter of Lord Henry Cavendish, a younger son of the first Duke of Devonshire.

† George Henry Lee, third Earl of Litchfield, married Diana, daughter of Sir Thomas Frankland; a very remarkable union—for she was fourth in descent from Oliver Cromwell, as her lord was from King Charles the First. They had no issue.

‡ He was not even permitted to sell his regiment, though he had paid 8000*l.* for it.

1759. They wanted a representative, and he was a comely one. The choice accordingly fell on him, after Lord Litchfield, who divided the Tories, had flung his interest into that scale to prevent the election of the bishop.

'Exchange of prisoners.' The cloud which had hung over General Conway since the disappointment at Rochfort began to disperse. He was commissioned to meet at Sluys Monsieur de Bareil, who commanded in French Flanders, and to settle a cartel for the exchange of prisoners. The distresses of France had obliged that crown to withdraw their allowance from their prisoners here, who were so numerous as to make that scanty stipend an object: it seemed none to the generosity of this country to replace it—private and voluntary subscriptions* were even made for their relief. The cartel was immediately and satisfactorily settled: yet as Mr. Pitt could not digest the smallest deviation from his plans, the essence of which was rashness, and as he wisely was desirous of inspiring the most romantic valour into our officers and troops, nothing could prevail on him to trust another enterprize to Mr. Conway, who panted for an opportunity of encountering the rudest dangers that Mr. Pitt could chalk out. But Conway was still crossed; and even Moyston, who pleaded ignorance of his profession, to excuse himself from being employed on the West Indian expeditions, was, by the favour of Newcastle,

* 1740*l.* were collected for them in London alone. The Romans dragged princes in triumph after their cars—the English taxed themselves to support their prisoners.

whose creature he then was, preferred to Conway for service in Germany. 1759.

On the 12th of January died Anne, princess-royal of England and dowager of Orange, the King's eldest daughter, and Gouvernante of the Republic during the minority of her son, in the fiftieth year of her age. She left no children but the young Stadtholder*, of eleven years of age, and the Princess Caroline. Her last offices had been employed in preventing a rupture between Great Britain and Holland, which was ready to break out on the many captures we had made of their vessels carrying supplies to the French settlements. 'Death of Princess of Orange.'

The first conquest that opened the year was the capture of Goree by Commodore Keppel†. That island had indeed surrendered on the 29th of December preceding; but the account did not arrive till the 27th of this month. An expedition of far higher importance was at that time on the point of departing. The war was to be carried into the heart and to the capital of the French empire in America; and so weakened was the force of that monarchy on that side of the globe, by their encroachments, in which they had drawn upon themselves such extensive vengeance, that this was not attempted to be made a secret expedition. Quebec was the object, and was avowed to be so. Another fleet had 'Capture of Goree.'

* Father of the present King of the Netherlands.—E.

† Augustus Keppel, second son of William Anne, Earl of Albemarle. This was the same Keppel who had interested himself to save Admiral Byng, and who was so much more known in the succeeding reign from his own trial and quarrel with Sir Hugh Palisser.

1759. sailed in November, to attempt the reduction of Martinico and Guadaloupe, under the direction of General Hopson and Commodore Moore. The former was old and infirm; brave, but neither able nor experienced: Moore has been mentioned before. On Martinico the attempt miscarried. Moore was blamed by some for want of activity; but his subservience to the ministry on the affair of Admiral Byng had secured such favour to him, that, in the Extraordinary Gazette published on this disappointment, Moore was treated with great lenity, and the blame made to bear hard on Hopson, who, however, survived long enough to expire in the arms of victory; for, on the failure at Martinico, the troops embarked with alacrity for Guadaloupe, and carried that island by dint of bravery. Basseterre, the capital, was reduced to a heap of ashes by the artillery from the fleet; and Hopson died in possession of the ruins. The remainder of the island was subdued by General Barrington*, who succeeded to the command, and Colonel Clavering. Moyston†, as I have said, had been named for this service, but professed he knew nothing of his trade: yet, on a promotion of general officers, before which the King, as usual, made a promotion of Hanoverians in the same line, by which some major-generals were now put over the head of General Waldegrave, who had commanded them in the last campaign; Moyston, of the same rank with Waldegrave,

'Expeditions to West Indies.'

* John, younger brother of the Lord Viscount Barrington.

† John, younger brother of Sir Roger Moyston, and groom of the bedchamber to the King.

offerred to serve under the new Hanoverian lieutenant-generals, if he might be sent to Germany; which well-timed flattery obtained his suit. On his waving Martinico, Pitt carried a list of names to the King, who selected Hopson—a choice not consonant to Mr. Pitt's practice, who, considering that our ancient officers had grown old on a very small portion of experience, which by no means compensated for the decay of fire and vigour, chose to trust his plans to the alertness and hopes of younger men. This appeared particularly in the nomination of Wolfe for the enterprize on Quebec. Ambition, activity, industry, passion for the service, were conspicuous in Wolfe. He seemed to breathe for nothing but fame, and lost no moments in qualifying himself to compass his object. He had studied for his purpose, and wrote well. Presumption on himself was necessary to such a character; and he had it. He was formed to execute the designs of such a master as Pitt, till risen to an eminence, whence he might chuse to thwart his master. To Wolfe was associated George Townshend,* whose proud, and sullen, and contemptuous temper never sufferred him to wait for thwarting his superiors till risen to a level with them. He saw every thing in an ill-natured and ridiculous light—a sure prevention of ever being 1759.

* George, eldest son of the Viscount Townshend, whom he succeeded in the title, afterwards lord-lieutenant of Ireland.—A.

Our author, who had no objection to satirical jokes, should have been more indulgent to a man whose chief offence was his success in them. A love of fun may be mischievous, but is rather a proof of levity than of sullenness, pride, or a contemptuous temper.—E.

1759. seen himself in a great or favorable one. The haughtiness of the Duke of Cumberland, the talents or blemishes of Fox, the ardour of Wolfe, the virtue of Conway, all were alike the objects of Townshend's spleen and contradiction—but Wolfe was not a man to wave his pre-eminence from fear of caricatures. He felt his superior knowledge and power, and had spirit enough to make Townshend sensible at least of the latter—a confidence in himself that was fortunate for his country: but we must pass to the other events of the year which preceded the decision of that attempt.

'Mr. Pitt's character and ministry.'

Mr. Pitt, on entering upon administration, had found the nation at the lowest ebb in point of power and reputation. His predecessors, now his coadjutors, wanted genius, spirit, and system. The fleet had many able officers; but the army, which, since the resignation of the Duke of Cumberland, had lost sight of discipline, was destitute of generals in whom either the nation or the soldiery had any confidence. France, who meaned to be feared, was feared heartily; and the heavy debt of the nation, which was above fourscore millions, served as an excuse to those who understood nothing but little temporary expedients to preach up our impossibility of making an effectual stand. They were willing to trust that France would be so good as to ruin us by inches. Pitt had roused us from this ignoble lethargy: he had asserted that our resources were still prodigious—he found them so in the intrepidity of our troops and navies—but he went farther, and perhaps too far. He staked our revenues with as little management as he played with the lives of the subjects; and

1759.

'Mr. Pitt's character and ministry.'

as if we could never have another war to wage, or as if he meant, which was impracticable, that his administration should decide which alone should exist as a nation, Britain or France, he lavished the last treasures of this country with a prodigality beyond example and beyond excuse; yet even that profusion was not so blameable as his negligence. Ignorant of the whole circle of finance, and consequently averse from corresponding with financiers, a plain set of men, who are never to be paid with words instead of figures, he kept aloof from all details, drew magnificent plans, and left others to find the magnificent means. Disdaining, too, to descend into the operations of an office which he did not fill, he affected to throw on the Treasury the execution of measures which he dictated, but for which he thus held himself not responsible. The conduct was artfull, new, and grand; and to him proved most advantageous. Secluded from all eyes, his orders were received as oracles; and their success, of consequence, was imputed to his inspiration. Misfortunes and miscarriages fell to the account of the more human agents: corruption and waste were charged on the subordinate priests. They indeed were charmed with this dispensation. As Mr. Pitt neither granted suits nor received them, Newcastle revelled in a boundless power of appointing agents, commissaries, victuallers, and the whole train of leeches, and even paid his court to Pitt by heaping extravagance on extravagance; for the more money was thrown away, the greater idea Pitt conceived of his system's grandeur. But none flattered this ostentatious prodigality

1759. like the Germans. From the King of Prussia* and Prince Ferdinand to the lowest victualler in the camp, all made advantage of English easiness and dissipation. As the minister was proud of such pensioners, they were not coy in begging his alms. Fox too was not wanting to himself during this harvest, to which his office of paymaster opened so commodious an inlet. Depressed, annihilated as a statesman, he sat silent, indemnifying himself by every opportunity of gain which his rival's want of œconomy threw in his way. The larger and more numerous are subsidies, the more troops are in commission, the more are on service abroad, the ampler means has the paymaster of enriching himself. An unfortunate campaign, or an unpopular peace, might shake the minister's establishment—but till this vision of expensive glory should be dissipated Fox was determined to take no part. But thence, from that inattention on one hand, and rapacity on the other, started up those prodigious private fortunes which we have seen suddenly come forth—and thence we remained with a debt of an hundred and forty millions! The admirers of Mr. Pitt extoll the reverberation he gave to our councils, the despondence he banished, the spirit he infused, the conquests he made, the security he affixed to our trade and plantations, the humiliation of France, the glory of Britain carried, under his administration, to a pitch at which it never had arrived—and all this is

'Mr. Pitt's ministry.'

* The King of Prussia melted the gold coin which we furnished for our subsidy, and recoined it with much more alloy.

exactly true. When they add, that all this could not be purchased too dearly, and that there was no option between this conduct and tame submission to the yoke of France—even this is just in a degree—but a material objection still remains, not depreciating a grain from this bill of merits, which must be gratefully acknowledged by whoever calls himself Englishman—yet very derogatory from Mr. Pitt's character, as virtually trusted with the revenues, the property of his country. A few plain words will explain my meaning, and comprehend the force of the question. All this was done—but might have been done for many millions less—the next war will state this objection more fully. 1759. 'Mr. Pitt's ministry.'

Posterity, this is an impartial picture. I am neither dazzled by the blaze of the times in which I have lived, nor, if there are spots in the sun, do I deny that I see them. It is a man I am describing, and one, whose greatness will bear to have his blemishes fairly delivered to you—not from a love of censure in me, but of truth; and because it is history I am writing, not romance. I pursue my subject.

The estimates of the year will show how our expences increased. When the ways and means were to be voted, the disposition of Mr. Pitt, which I have mentioned, appeared; and some other passions. He had taken umbrage at Legge from the time the latter had been associated with him in the testimonials of popularity which they had received together from many counties and corporations—or he might have discovered some of Legge's subterraneous intrigues. The new- 'Estimates of the year.'

1759. intended tax to answer part of the supplies granted, was destined to fall on sugar. Pitt, who rarely condescended to make use of any instrument for acquiring popularity, was less reserved on this head with regard to Beckford, who was a noisy, good-humoured flatterer, bombast as became the priest of such an idol, and vulgar and absurd, as was requisite to captivate any idol's devotees, the mob. On that class in the city Beckford had much influence. He was pompous in his expence, or rather in his expressions, but he knew his interest, and was attentive to it. His fortune lay chiefly in Jamaica—a tax on sugar touched his vitals. Accompanied by fifty West-Indian merchants, he applied to Legge to divert the new duty; but the measure was taken. He was obliged to have recourse to Pitt, who professed being little in the secret of money-matters; promised the affair should have farther consideration, and that himself would be open to conviction on what he should hear in the debate. The chiefs of the city had already been acquainted with the tax, and approved it; but Pitt obliged Newcastle and Legge to depart from their plan, though at so late a day, and to shift the new duty upon dry goods in general. Yet when the debate came on, Pitt reproved Legge for having been so dilatory with the taxes; and made an extravagant panegyric on Beckford, who, he said, had done more to support government than any minister in England; launched out on his principles, disinterestedness, knowledge of trade, and solidity; and professed he thought him another Sir Josiah Child. The House, who looked on

'Duty upon dry goods.'

1759.

'Mr. Pitt's speech on taxes.'

Beckford as a wild, incoherent, superficial buffoon, of whose rhapsodies they were weary, laughed and groaned. Pitt was offended, and repeated his encomium, as the House did their sense of it. He added, that he thought a tax on wine or linnens preferable to that on dry goods (which included sugar as part): he wished either had been proposed sooner: now he must *sequi deteriora*—yet why did he talk of his being consulted? *Accident, jumble, and twenty circumstances, had placed him in an odd gap of government—but only for a time—he only desired to be an instrument of government, and the drudge of office.* He wished for no power; he had seen what effect it had had on his predecessors! But the most remarkable part of his speech on that and a following day, at least what was much recollected a few years afterwards *, was the commendation he bestowed upon *excise*, upon Sir Robert Walpole's plan for it†, and upon that minister. He concluded with declaring, that he should like a tax on hops better than on any commodity that had been mentioned. This, too, was very ill received by the House. Legge, as usual, kissed the rod with much humility—yet many, who knew he deserved

* On the cyder-tax in the following reign.

† Sir Robert Walpole had brought in a bill of general excise, but so virulent was the opposition made to it by his enemies, that, though he carried it, he had been in danger of his life, and was persuaded by his friends, against his own opinion, to drop it. Almost all his chief opponents lived to recant their opposition to that plan, as Mr. Pitt did on this occasion; which was the handsomer, as he had lost his cornetcy of horse, and his uncle Lord Cobham his regiment, for their opposition on that occasion.

1759. to be crushed, did not approve the violent manner in which it was done.

'Mr. Pitt's sensibility to censure.'

On the corn-bill, Sir John Philipps reproached Pitt with Hanoverizing. Soame Jenyns, a humorous poet, had indirectly done the same in a simile to ridicule the Tories, whom Pitt was leading towards the court, and who had already gone so far as to agree to his most extravagant demands for Germany. Pitt was grievously hurt; and it required all the intercession and protection of Lord Hardwicke to save Jenyns from being turned out of the board of trade. Pitt was no less complaisant to Lord Hardwicke on a point of higher importance. Lord Denbigh* acquainted the House of Lords, that he should move to ask the judges for their new act of Habeas Corpus (which Lord Hardwicke had promised to prepare), and said he did not doubt but that lord would second his motion. The judges were accordingly summoned—but Lord Denbigh told them he had dropped his design. As he professed attachment to Pitt, the inference was obvious.

'Complaisance to Lord Hardwicke.'

The Archbishop of Canterbury, who could be obsequious too, and who was showing great management for the Methodists, so far as to enter into their superstitious prosecution of the bakers for baking on Sundays, was not rigid even on that or still more solemn days, when he looked towards court. On the general fast he acquainted the King by the Lord Chamberlain, that he had provided a preacher for his majesty, who would have all proper regard to necessary brevity—but

* Basil Fielding, Earl of Denbigh, much better known in the following reign.

the man happened to preach half an hour—double the time to which the King was accustomed; who complaining that the archbishop had deceived him, the flattery came to light. The prelate was not less attentive to paying his court in a point of greater moment. The King, persuaded that his indulgence to and toleration of the Catholics would secure him from their plotting, was constantly averse to every proposition of rigour towards them. Representations of justices of peace against their chapels in private houses were always quashed. Of late it had appeared in print, by concurrent testimonies of opposite parties on the controversy with Bower*, that a regular mission of Jesuits was established in London. They had attempted or suggested the assassination of the King of Portugal; they were detected and decried in France—Catholic kingdoms—in London no notice was taken of them. The primate was too much occupied on forcing Protestant bakers to church, and in providing laconic preachers for his master! 1759.

'Jealousies in ministry.'

Newcastle had now been long enough connected with Pitt to grow jealous of him once more. On a fine speech in the House of Lords, for the importation of Irish cattle, made by the Duke of Bedford, Newcastle commended him extravagantly; and soon after a connection between them recommenced by the intervention of Fox and the Duke of Bedford's creatures. The consequences, however, did not soon appear,

* Archibald Bower, author of the History of the Popes, was much exposed in print by Dr. Douglas, and a warm controversy was stirred up on that occasion.

1759.

except in mutual diffidences of Newcastle and Pitt, the former of whom suspected the latter of designing to break on some popular topic; an opportunity which therefore the new connection determined not to throw in his way, apprehending the power of his popularity. The jealousy, however, frequently broke out: the instances, trifling as they were, I shall sometimes briefly mention, as several of them led to higher matters.

'Jealousies in ministry.'

The privy council sitting to hear the case argued of the captures made on the Dutch; Pitt, sensible of the clamour that would be raised, if the prizes were restored, went officiously early to the House of Commons to mark, by his not being at council, his taking no part in the decision. Newcastle went thither; but perceiving the politic absence of Pitt, his grace pretended the chamber was too hot, and retired too. This was followed by the affair of the judges: on a proposal the last year to exempt them from the new tax on employments, it had been agreed rather to increase their salaries. Legge had promised a bill for that purpose; and John Campbell * of Calder, a staunch revolutionist, said he would add a motion to convert their commissions during good behaviour into patents for life. Then followed the debate on the Habeas Corpus, on which, though the opinions of the judges were divided, they certainly were not very favorable to Mr.

* This Mr. Campbell, who had estates both in Scotland and Wales, had been one of the Lords of the Treasury during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, and died very aged since the year 1770.

Pitt and the friends of the extension. Now when the time was arrived for fixing those salaries, Pitt told Newcastle that the increase had been made to reward the complaisance of the judges on the bill of Habeas Corpus, *and that it was the largest fee that ever was given.* This terrified the duke so much, that he prevailed on Campbell to drop his intended motion. The King, too, disapproved it; wishing, when he could, to leave the prerogative as ample as he found it. The Treasury, however, having advanced the salaries, were censured by Lord Denbigh and Lord Temple. Yet when it came before the House, Pitt, though he warmly opposed it in private, did not attend; but his friends George Grenville and Beckford attacked the motion, and a Mr. Coventry told many entertaining stories of the judges and their rapaciousness on the circuit, and of casual presents that they had converted into standing usages. Charles Yorke defended both the judges and the measure—the latter with more success than the former: yet as the stories were neither flagrant nor of very recent date, the best apology for the judges was, that so little could be objected to them. The additional salary was voted by 169 to 39; which occasioned Charles Townshend to say, *that the book of Judges had been saved by the book of Numbers.*

1759.

'Jealousies in ministry.'

Legge, who officially made the motion, did not escape Pitt's anger; but he was protected by Newcastle, to whom he had newly attached himself. The first interview passed with such privacy, that they met at Lord Dupplin's without

1759. candles. Yet Newcastle discovered it to Pitt, and others to Lord Bute, which compleated the ruin of Legge with both. Lord Bute immediately showed his resentment, by excluding Oswald, though a Scot, from the Treasury, because recommended by Legge; and even to Pitt Lord Bute made use of the name of the Prince of Wales to fortify the exclusion. Legge, however, was indemnified by obtaining the vacant post for his friend Lord North*.

'Message on militia.' These were the most remarkable, and not very interesting, events of that session, which concluded with a message from the King to desire to be enabled to march the militia out of their several counties on the apprehension of an invasion from France. Notice of such an intention had been received so early as February last. Fifty thousand men were said to be destined to that service, which formerly had been a plan of Marshal Belleisle in the last war, had been communicated to the King of Prussia, and approved of by him. Pitt made a pompous speech on delivery of the message, and distinguished between the various kinds of fear: this, he said, was a magnanimous fear. The address in return was still more lofty. Vyner and Cooke added an address, that his majesty would quicken such lords-lieutenants as were dilatory with their militias—there were several of them; the measure was far from being generally popular. When they did come to march,

* Frederick, Lord North, afterwards prime minister, eldest son of Francis, Earl of Guilford, who married to his second wife the widow of Lord Lewisham, elder brother of Mr. Legge.

several country gentlemen would have excused themselves on the season of hay harvest. Pitt answered, that if any such objection were made, he would move the next session to have the bill repealed—a dreadfull threat to his Tory friends, who, by the silent *douceurs* of commissions in the militia, were weaned from their opposition, without a sudden transition to ministerial employment. The invasion, though it ended in smoke, was very seriously projected, and hung over us for great part of the summer; nor was it radically baffled till the winter following. Immense preparations were made along their coasts of flat-bottomed boats. They even notified their design to the Dutch; but at the same time informing the States, that they did not intend to disturb the established succession, but to punish England for her attempts on their coasts the last year. This notification had the least serious air in the whole transaction, but accorded with those weak councils, which knew not how to conduct any of their operations. We were defenceless at home, and could not assemble above twelve thousand men. Our towns were crouded with French prisoners. They were removed up into the country, and committed to the guard of the militia. The Earl of Orford*, with the militia of Norfolk, was garrisoned at Ports-

1759.

'Threats of invasion from France.'

* George Walpole, third Earl of Orford, grandson of Sir Robert Walpole. Lord Orford, whose intellects were never very sound, and which were afterwards much disordered, showed at no time a disposition to tread in the principles of his grandfather and family. He lived almost always in the country, and was chiefly influenced in politics, when he did take any part in them, by George Lord Town-

1759. mouth, whence they addressed the King with offers and promises of service—a zeal somewhat unconstitutional, and indicating how far from impossible it might be to divert this national force to the same purposes as are always reasonably apprehended from a standing army. In the present case the apprehension was the more pregnant, as the officers of the militia were chiefly Tory gentlemen.

'Havre de Grace bombarded.'

To ward off or dissipate the invasion, Admiral Rodney* was dispatched to the French coast; and arriving off Havre de Grace, he with two bomb-ketches set fire to the town in two or three places, though the fire from the forts was very warm. He threw so prodigious a number of bombs into the place, that he almost melted his own mortars; but the flat-bottomed boats, which were not finished, proved to be out of his reach; and he returned with having done but inconsiderable damage. About the same time advice being received that Monsieur Thurot, with 1500 men under his com-

shend, who had deviated still more from the Whig principles of *his* grandfather; being poisoned by his mother, the celebrated Ethelreda, Lady Townshend. That lady had been very affected. She had a great deal of wit, which was seldom delicate, and had turned Jacobite on some disregard from the Duke of Cumberland. One day that she was very severe on the royal family, Margaret Cecil, Lady Brown, said to her, "Lady Townshend, it was very well, while you was only *affected;* but now you are *disaffected,* it is intolerable." A famous *bon mot* of Lady Townshend on the royal family was occasioned by seeing them often at Ranelagh: she said, "This is the cheapest family to see, and the dearest to keep, that ever was."

* Afterwards Sir George Bridges Rodney; much more known in the years 1780 and 1781.

mand, had escaped out of Dunkirk, another battalion was flung into Dover castle, and two more were ordered into the lines at Chatham—but Thurot was not then sailed. 1759.

Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had opened the campaign with less success than reputation, having been obliged to retreat after attempting to dislodge the French from Bergen. It was this and some parallel occasions in which the French stood their ground, that intituled Prince Ferdinand most deservedly to the character of a consummate general. Retreats before a victorious army, and prosperous campaigns against a superior army, these were his titles—the incapacity of the hostile generals, and the shamefull behaviour of their troops, rendered his subsequent atchievments less brilliant, without proving that he would not have succeeded against abler antagonists. It is a little more problematic whether he could not have served us better, had he had no interests to serve but ours. As we were strictly connected with the King of Prussia, co-operating with him was serving the common cause: the question is, whether Prince Ferdinand never lost sight of the interests of Great Britain, when a motion, a diversion that might shield that monarch, clashed with an obvious plan of activity for driving the French out of the territories that more immediately affected our cause. The advantage of employing so able a German general balanced some signal inconveniencies attending that nomination. The sums which were never refused to him, and for which, not being a Briton, he

'Campaign in Germany.'

1759. could not be called to account, will perhaps outweigh the glory he procured to our arms, the benefits that resulted from his success, or the share which he made us take in saving the King of Prussia from destruction. Should the last-named prince prove oftener our enemy than our ally, we must comfort ourselves with having guarded the Protestant religion in Germany—for the protestantism of its chief, it was too ridiculous to be made, as it was, even a serious object by the mob! Atheistic odes were the psalms which that Protestant confessor sung by the waters of Babylon!

'Battle of Minden.' After the check at Bergen, Prince Ferdinand, though retreating, disputed his ground by garrisoning the chief towns on his march. Yet they were all taken by the French, particularly Munster and Minden. Hanover seemed again on the point of becoming their prey. Nothing was left, but to hazard a battle; on which the Prince determined, and the news of which arrived here, when such an event was least expected, except by the King, who, on receiving General Yorke's * courier, owned that he had had Prince Ferdinand's plan in his pocket for ten days, without communicating it to a single person. This testimony was given immediately, before the slightest particulars were known, except that the general result of the action was compleat success. Yet, however the event was coincident with the design, however determined

* Joseph Yorke, third son of Philip first Earl of Hardwicke, and minister in Holland; afterwards, in 1788, created Lord Dover.

the Prince was to provoke an engagement, it is rather clear that he was surprized, though not by his own fault, as came out afterwards. 1759.

Colonel Ligonier * followed General Yorke's courier, but had been dispatched so early from the field of battle, that he scarce knew any of the circumstances, except the great loss on the French side, the large number of prisoners, with the capture of their canon and baggage. 'Reports of battle of Minden.'

Three days afterwards arrived Colonel Fitzroy †, aid-de-camp to Prince Ferdinand, with confirmation of the victory; not so ample as in the first intelligence, but decisive, and attended immediately by essential advantages. Contades had passed the river in the night, ordering the bridges to be destroyed. Minden, with its garrison, surrendered the next day. The loss on our side had not been inconsiderable, and had fallen chiefly on the English, who had also the greatest share in the honour of the day. The generals Kingsley and Waldegrave had particularly distinguished themselves.

With Fitzroy came over the Duke of Richmond; and they, particularly the latter, disclosed a passage, which soon threw the nation into a flame. Lord George Sackville ‡, by his weight with Mr. Pitt §, and in parliament, had insisted on going to

* Nephew of Marshal Lord Ligonier, whom he succeeded in the title.

† Charles, only brother of Augustus Henry, Duke of Grafton; afterwards created Baron of Southampton.

‡ Third son of Lionel Sackville, first Duke of Dorset.

§ He had, however, already offended Mr. Pitt. The latter had offerred to

1759. Germany, and had gone without the King's approbation, and even without waiting on his majesty. Lord Granby was next to Lord George in command, and so popular, that when he set out for the army, fifty-two young officers had sollicited to be his aids-de-camp. Between these two lords a coolness soon ensued, and divided the army, if it can be called *division*, where almost every heart sided with Lord Granby. He was open, honest, affable, and of such unbounded good-nature and generosity, that it was impossible to say which principle actuated him in the distribution of the prodigious sums that he spent and flung away. Lord George Sackville was haughty, reserved but to a few, and those chiefly Scotch; and with no preheminence over his rival, but what his rank in command gave him, and his great talents, in which there could not be the smallest competition: and yet with those superior talents, Lord George never had the art of conciliating affection. He had thwarted Prince Ferdinand, and disgusted him, in the preceding campaign; and was now in the army against the Prince's inclination. The latter, with equal haughtiness, but with far more art and address, could not fail of fomenting a breach that tended so much to mortify Lord George, and to promote his own views. Lord Granby was tractable, unsuspicious, and not likely to pry into or controul the amazing impositions of the German agents, which Lord George had

'Lord Granby and Lord G. Sackville.'

him the command of the expedition to St. Cas. Lord George replied, "*he was tired of buccaneering.*" It was to avoid that service that he had insisted on going to Germany—but Pitt did not forget the sarcasm on his expeditions.

too honestly, too indiscreetly, or too insultingly, let Prince Ferdinand see had not escaped his observation, instead of remonstrating or withstanding such dissipation, as he should have done, at home—though it is questionable whether his representations would have been listened to by Mr. Pitt, who cared not what he lavished on whoever would carry on his glorious sketches, or rather adventurous darings—a prodigality unhappily copied in the next reign throughout the American war, by men who imitated Mr. Pitt in nothing else, and who had none of his genius, ambition, patriotism, activity, nor even his lofty ideas*. 1759.

This was the state of things before the battle of Minden; but being little or not at all known in England, it was with equal surprize and indignation that the people heard Lord George Sackville, who had always stood in high estimation for courage, more covertly at first, soon openly accused of cowardice, and of having thrown away the moment of compleating the total destruction of the French army. Prince Ferdinand had passed this reproach on him, indirectly and artfully indeed, but, when combined with the circumstances of the battle, not to be misunderstood. In the orders which he gave out the next day, he expressed concern that Lord Granby had not had the command of the cavalry on the right

'Reflections on Lord G. Sackville.'

* From this passage, as well as others, it is clear that our author revised his work many years after he wrote it. To this chapter, in a copy fairly transcribed, he has subjoined Oct. 28th, 1763; but in the same copy the concluding sentence of the paragraph in text does not occur.—E.

1759.

'Lord G. Sackville's conduct.'

wing, which, if led by him, his Highness did not doubt would have given a more decisive lustre to the day. More mysterious, yet still more pointed, was a paragraph in the same orders, requiring that, *for the future*, his commands delivered by his aids-de-camp should be more exactly obeyed. Inquiry soon led to the particular fact alluded to. During the battle, the Prince sent Ligonier, one of his aids-de-camp, to Lord George, with orders to bring up the cavalry; Fitzroy immediately after, with orders for Lord George to march with only the British cavalry, and to the left. Lord George, as Fitzroy, who arrived suddenly after Ligonier, said, received the order with some confusion, and replied, "This cannot be so; would he have me break the line?" Fitzroy, young, brave, and impetuous, urged the command. Lord George desired he would not be in a hurry. "I am out of breath with galloping," said Fitzroy, "which makes me speak quick; but my orders are positive: the French are in disorder; here is a glorious opportunity for the English to distinguish themselves." Lord George still hesitated, saying, it was impossible the Prince could mean to break the line. Fitzroy stuck to the Prince's orders. Lord George asked which way the cavalry was to march, and who was to be their guide? "I!" said Fitzroy, bravely. Lord George pretending the different orders puzzled him, desired to be conducted to the Prince for explanation: in the mean time dispatched Smith, his favourite, with orders to lead on the British cavalry; from whence, he pleaded, no delay could happen. Smith whispered Lord George, to con-

vince him of the necessity of obeying. Lord George persisted on being carried to the Prince, who at Fitzroy's report was much astonished. Even when Lord George did march, he twice sent orders to Lord Granby to halt, who was posting on with less attention to the rules of a march, but with more ardour for engaging—before they arrived, the battle was gained. Lord George defended himself on the seeming contradiction of the orders; on the short space of time that was lost, at most eight minutes; on obstructions from a wood on his march; and on his own alertness, he having been one of the first on horseback on hearing the French canonade; the Prince of Anhalt having neglected to send to Prince Ferdinand information of the approach of the French, which he had learnt from four deserters. 1759. 'Lord G. Sackville.'

That the whole affair turned on very few minutes, is certain. Whether, if employed, they would have been of great consequence, cannot now be determined. Enough was evident to prove that Lord George, at best, was too critically and minutely cool in such a moment of importance. Indeed, more was proved. Previous to the arrival of Ligonier, he had lost time in affecting not to understand a message delivered to him by a German aid-de-camp. Colonel Sloper, too (who had been obliged to him), remarking his confusion, said to Ligonier, "For God's sake, repeat your orders to that man, that he may not pretend not to understand them—but you see the condition he is in!" Had Lord George's courage been less problematic, one might suspect that his hatred to Prince Fer-

1759. dinand had made him willing, by an affected delay, to balk the Prince of part of his glory *—but some late occasions had already discovered that his lordship was no hero. The late Duke of Marlborough† had remarked it in their joint expedition to the coast of France; and the little spirit he had shown in Ireland, under the most grievous abuse, was now recollected, and concurred to corroborate the present imputation. His real constitution, I believe, was this: he had a high and bold spirit, till danger came extraordinarily near. Then his judgment was fascinated—yet even then he seems not to have lost a certain presence of mind. His quickness in distinguishing a trifling contradiction in a message delivered by two boys in not precisely the same terms, showed that all his senses were not lost—but if that dexterity served his fears, it cut up his fortune by the roots, annihilated his character, and gratified the utmost spleen and vengeance of his enemy. I question if a fuller victory had been more acceptable to Prince Ferdinand.

'Lord G. Sackville.'

That disappointment alone had not provoked his Highness, seemed to appear from the choice he made of Lord Granby for the particular object of his compliment. Though the next officer to Lord George in the cavalry, Lord Granby had only marked a great readiness to lead them to the charge;

* Some went so far as to suppose, that Lord George, concluding the Prince would be beaten, had a mind to have the honour of saving the cavalry—but I know nothing to confirm that opinion.

† Charles Spencer, second Duke of Marlborough. He died between the expedition to St. Cas and the battle of Minden.

but had had no opportunity of otherwise distinguishing himself. For Lord George, whether unconscious of having failed in his duty; or whether, which is more probable, to carry on the semblance of having done it, he did not scruple to mix with the general officers at Prince Ferdinand's table after the battle. "*Voilà cet homme*," said the Prince to those nearest to him, "*autant à son aise comme s'il avoit fait des merveilles!*" No more passed then. The next day's orders informed Lord George that the Prince's silence was no indemnity. His Highness knew the English; and left it to them to execute the rest. 1759.

'Lord G. Sackville returns to England.'

Lord George Sackville felt the stroke. He saw Germany and the army were no longer a situation for him. He wrote for leave to resign his command, and to return. Both were granted. Ere he could arrive, both the court and the nation were prepared to receive him with little less abhorrence and abuse than had led the way to the fate of Admiral Byng.

A promotion of lieutenants-general was immediately made, in order to include and hasten the rank to General Waldegrave*, to whom the success of the battle had in great measure been owing. The six English regiments, who sustained the whole effort of the French, had begun the engagement with less promise of valour. At first they began to give way. Waldegrave, affecting not to perceive that their motion tended towards a retreat, cried out, "Wheel to the right!"—they did,

* John, younger brother of James, Earl of Waldegrave (the author of the Memoirs), whom he succeeded in the title in 1763, died Oct. 15, 1784.

1759. and recovered the day. Waldegrave was a man who united much frankness with steady attention to his interest. His parts were never taken notice of but on this occasion: but such an occasion is immortality.

Seventy thousand men routed by 35,000 was indeed a shining victory. The defeat of the French was attended with scarce less rancour between their generals than happened between ours. The Marshals Contades and Broglio threw the blame on each other: but the former never recovered any share of estimation. His papers, which fell into our hands soon after the battle, were artfully published. They included his correspondence with Marshal Belleisle, who directed the operations of the war, and gave orders for the conduct of it with a barbarity that spoke very plainly how little France was influenced by any sentiments of humanity or good faith in pursuit of her views*. The Germans were treated in those dispatches with the most marked contempt; the Princes suspected by them, despotically; and even their friends, the Electors of Cologne and Palatine, were to be made feel the misery of being connected with a too powerfull and arrogant ally. They were to be plundered under the observance of the most insulting ceremonial. But what shocked Europe most, were repeated commands to reduce the most fertile provinces of Germany to a desart: the pretence, to shorten the war. Had their meditated invasions of this country suc-

'Correspondence of French generals.'

* Lord Chesterfield wrote and published a letter to expose that infamous conduct.

ceeded, one may judge what would have been the secret instructions to their generals! 1759.

'King of Prussia's campaign.'

We must now turn to the King of Prussia. The efforts he had made in the preceding campaigns to withstand so many enemies were again to be renewed. The Russians were ready to burst on Silesia, and were not a nation with whom he could temporize, as he could with Marshal Daun, by stratagems, shifting situations, and the other resources of a politic general. Count Dohna, who was opposed to them, had endeavoured to ward off the blow by such expedients: but his master determined in his own mind that the Russian storm should be encountered by a shock like their own. He disgraced Dohna, and substituted Wedel in his place, with absolute command to risk a battle. Wedel accordingly engaged seventy thousand Russians with less than half their number, and was defeated. The towns of Crossen and Francfort on the Oder fell into the hands of the conquerors.

The King, to vindicate his own measure, and indeed from the necessity of making a decisive effort, hastened with ten thousand men to the shattered remains of Wedel's army; while Marshal Daun, who knew that the Russians wanted nothing but a body of cavalry, dispatched twelve thousand horse to them under General Laudohn, who was accompanied, too, by eight thousand foot. This supply made the Russian force amount to above fourscore thousand men, already blooded with victory and barbarity. The King, with all the recruits he could collect, had not assembled above fifty thousand men—

1759. enough to sacrifice to despair! It was near the village of Cunnersdorf that he once more tried what the most intrepid rashness could perform. Even the advantage of situation was against him: yet nothing stopped his impetuosity. His generals had no option: his troops were animated by revenge, by the dangers that threatened their country, and by the example of their King, who was so far intitled to lavish the blood of his soldiers, as he was prodigal of his own. Such motives and such fury bore down all before them. The Russian entrenchments were forced; seventy pieces of their cannon were taken; posts after posts were carried, and prodigious slaughter made of their bravest battalions. The King, confident of success, and impatient to notify it, dispatched a courier to the Queen with these words: "Madam, we have beaten the Russians from their entrenchments: in two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory." Unless he concluded that the expeditious divulging of his success could check the progress of his other enemies, or encourage his people to withstand the tempest that was ready to break upon them, this anticipation of his good fortune was childish, and more like the juvenile ardour of an unpracticed hero, than of a man accustomed both to victory and reverses, and who was now fighting for dearer objects than glory.

'Battle of Cunnersdorf.'

The promised two hours never arrived. Soltikoff, the Russian general, collected the remains of his right wing, and, with supplies drawn from his center, reinforced his left, which he observed to be the most entire, and posted it on a rising

ground to advantage. The King, flushed with success, and now engaged in honour to make it compleat, resolved to drive the Russians from that last post too. The fatigue of his troops, the representations of his generals, the advantages already gained, nothing could dissuade him from pushing his fortune to the utmost. The command for attack was given, and was obeyed with alacrity by the Prussians, though almost spent by the heat of the day, and the efforts they had exerted. At that moment the Austrian cavalry, so judiciously furnished by Daun, and as ably put in motion by Laudohn, rushed upon the enfeebled victors, broke their ranks, drove them back in disorder, and ravished from them in few moments the fruit of their glorious ardour and intrepidity. A total defeat of the Prussians ensued, notwithstanding the undaunted valour of their monarch, who could not recover by despair what he had let slip out of his hands by presumption. Yet, to that intemperance in action succeeded the coolest prudence and judgment. He had acted as in despair at the head of fifty thousand men; he took measures for re-establishing his army, when he knew not whether he had an army left. All his generals were killed or wounded, all his cannon taken, the flower of his troops slaughtered or dispersed: yet, in those circumstances he made so able a retreat, so assiduously reassembled the remains of his army, and chose his ground in so masterly a manner, that the Russians not only did not venture to make any attempt on Berlin, but drew no advantages from so compleat a victory. Even Marshal Daun,

1759.

'Prussians defeated.'

1759. who had selected the very moment for deciding the King's ruin, improved the conjuncture with far less capacity than the vanquished Prince, who seemed to have no resource left. The marshal, instead of being born, as men conjectured, to weary out the fertility of that monarch's genius, seemed at last but the proper touchstone for proving the extent of his abilities. In a second note to his queen, his Majesty ordered her to remove from Berlin with the royal family; the archives to be transported to Potsdam. The capital, he added, might make conditions with the enemy. This was the first thought —yet he not only saved Berlin; but though Marshal Daun joined Soltikoff, and though the King received two more defeats during the course of the campaign, yet by the dexterous manœuvres of his brother, Prince Henry, whose military talents the King professed to prefer to his own, and who drew the marshal towards Saxony by a daring and celebrated march, by the retreat of the Russians, to which the King forced them, and by the too deliberate councils of the Austrian chief, who continued to act in a defensive style even after he had reduced the King to the last gasp, that Prince was still saved to baffle the reasonings of the speculative, and to terminate his glorious career in a manner worthy of its progress.

'King of Prussia saves Berlin, and retrieves his affairs.'

While the war seemed drawing towards a conclusion in the North, it looked as if fate was opening a new source of calamities to mankind. Ferdinand King of Spain died; a prince of no abilities, and lately of disordered intellects. His

1759.

'Spain and Naples.'

want of issue had formerly been imputed to drugs administered to him by the practices of his mother-in-law, Elizabeth Farnese, the politic Queen-dowager. Men of a suspicious cast might attribute his phrenzy to the same cause; but a more pregnant reason might be assigned. His father, who certainly was far from being afflicted with any bodily debility, had been equally disturbed in his understanding. Ferdinand's queen*, who had great ascendant over him, had kept his madness within bounds. On her death nobody had any influence with him. His disorder, thus left to itself, increased, and put an end to his life about a year after the decease of his queen. The Queen-dowager, though not absolute directress of affairs during the life of her son-in-law, had yet, from her intrigues, bribes, and dependents, and still more from the visible and approaching prospect of her own son's succession, acquired much authority, though not enough to throw the kingdom, as she wished, into direct connection with France. The probability of the weight she would have with her son Don Carlos; the power his own queen, who was a daughter of Saxony, was known to have with him; and the subjection in which we had held him while only King of Naples—all these motives concurred to lead him into French measures. Naples, by the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, had been destined to his brother the Duke of Parma. Don Carlos, indeed, had never given his consent to that disposition: he was less inclined to conform to it when the forces of Spain enabled him to dispute it. Accordingly, on obtaining the Spanish crown, he destined

* Barbara, a princess of Portugal.—E.

1759.

'Charles III. of Spain sets aside his eldest son.'

that of Naples to one of his younger sons. The eldest, called Duke of Calabria, and heir-apparent of Spain, inherited the weakness of mind of his grandfather and uncle. Him, therefore, it was determined totally to set aside. Solemnity was used in proceeding to that rejection. The young Prince, then thirteen, was formerly examined by physicians. One* of them was so honest as to refuse to sign his persuasion of the Prince's incapacity, though at length he too yielded. The case was novel and striking. Just, undoubtedly, to the people who were to be governed: but many favourers of hereditary right—that is, men who think that no want of talents or virtues ought to exclude a prince from exercising that office which requires the noblest share of both, and hold that mankind, like land, ought to be the property of birth—will not be pleased with the reasons which the Neapolitan physicians were of opinion disqualified the Prince for the throne of Spain. "He was short, his joints were contracted, he stooped, looked down, squinted, was sometimes indifferent to things convenient for him, at others too warm and impetuous. His passions not restrained by reason; he had an obstinate aversion to sweetmea ; was disturbed by all sorts of noise; pain or pleasure made no lasting impressions on him; he was utterly unacquainted with good-breeding; had not the least idea of the mysteries of their holy religion; loved childish amusements, the most boisterous the best; and

* His name was Serras. He urged, "That the Prince was not an incurable changeling; and that age, strengthening his constitution, might strengthen his intellects."

was continually shifting from one thing to another."—If these defects were disqualifications, hard would be the fate of most sovereigns! how seldom would an eldest son succeed his father! Would not one think that the faculty of physic at Naples had rather been describing a monarch than dispossessing him? One thing is evident—it must have been a king who selected *such* criterions for judging whether his son was capable of governing a great nation. "Ask him," we must suppose, said his Neapolitan Majesty, "whether he loves sweetmeats! if he does not, he is unworthy of filling the throne of his ancestors." The Prince's ignorance of good-breeding and of his religion seems rather imputable to his parents and preceptors than to him. If it was the mysteries of the Roman Catholic faith which he was incapable of comprehending, I should suspect the Prince was a sensible lad. Perhaps the honest physician thought as I do—at least, I do not doubt but, if permitted, he would have asked the Prince other questions.

1759. 'Reasons for setting aside Duke of Calabria examined.'

Voltaire, who, I do not know why, thinks princes are always to be mentioned with strict decorum, could hardly persuade any man to refrain from laughing at this absurd catalogue of royal deficiencies. The Prince really was an idiot; nor was it likely that a father would wish to disinherit his own child, especially who was not old enough to have given him jealousy, unless the incapacity had been glaring and hopeless—but one would think the whole cabinet of Naples had been idiots likewise, when they could find no better colours to dress up a notorious fact. Indeed, the

1759. Spanish as well as Portuguese statesmen have been wofully defective in composition in this age, as often as they have attempted to lay the grounds of their proceedings before the rest of Europe. The most barbarous periods of monkish ignorance and despotism produced nothing more despicable than several manifestos of those crowns.

'King of Spain.' The Prince was set aside in consequence of the decision of the physicians*. The second son was carried to Spain and declared Prince of Asturias. To the third was actually resigned the crown of Naples, though too young to have it known whether he was more fit to reign than his eldest brother—but a baby is never thought disqualified. The tranquillity however of that child's reign depended so much on preserving the friendship of England, that the new King of Spain was not impatient to hurry into French councils. His wife too had prepossessed him with apprehensions of being governed by his mother. The crown of Naples, which he

* The rejected Prince lived several years after at Naples, but never attained any degree of understanding. He was allowed to take the air in his coach constantly and publicly, and every body could perceive his insensibility. The next prince, become Prince of Asturias†, was violent and brutal. The third, King of Naples, was not void of symptoms of the malady of his family, though it was doubtfull whether his intellects were weak or deranged. Like his father, he was indefatigable in hunting, and passed many more hours of every day with his dogs than with his ministers—such a sinecure is royalty! Had the eldest Prince been capable of passing his whole time in hunting, he might have been King.

† And afterwards Charles IV. of Spain. He never renounced his right to the kingdom of Naples; and though he acquiesced in his brother's (the present King's) possession of it, always disputed his title, which, as it was in violation of the law of primogeniture, was never distinctly admitted by any government of Spain till the revolution of 1820.—E.

had owed entirely to her intrigues, could not induce him to put that of Spain under her direction. She could not even obtain to see him alone—a mortifying return from a darling son, who had been absent from her thirty years! But if the new Queen in that instance showed her influence, she lost it in every other. The King was extremely weak, but unmeasurably obstinate. The crown of Spain, or probably some Spanish minister, infused into him higher thoughts of himself. He grew jealous of his wife's ascendant, sent away a Neapolitan duchess who governed her, and took a resolution of deciding every thing by his own judgment. He could not have chosen a worse counsellor*. The disgraces that soon attended his

1759.

'King of Spain.'

* Our author treats Charles III. with undue severity. He was no hero or statesman, but yet not devoid of good qualities. Probity, justice, consistency, and humanity were among his virtues. On his accession to the crown of Spain he submitted to great inconvenience, from a principle of honesty—he deemed it wrong to divert any portion of the treasure of Naples from the service of that kingdom; and he adhered so religiously to his scruple, that he not only left the public funds untouched, but divested himself of all private wealth, even to pictures, gems, and rings, considering them as the property of the people whose resources had enabled him to purchase them. He engaged, indeed, in two wars—one manifestly unjust, and both perhaps unnecessary; but he protected literature and the arts of peace. Though a bigoted Catholic, he suppressed the Jesuits, abolished, or at least discountenanced, torture, and mitigated religious persecution by his neglect and dislike of the Inquisition. In short, few absolute kings, and none of his race and country, have been more free from the reproach of extravagance, injustice, or inhumanity. His reign was less oppressive and less inglorious than any under which Spain languished during the long suspension or evasion of her ancient free institutions.—E.

1759. measures made the true Spaniards wish that the Neapolitan doctors had been consulted on more cases than one.

Death of Lady Elizabeth.

The death of King Ferdinand was followed (Sept. 4) by that of the Lady Elizabeth of England, second daughter of Frederic Prince of Wales, in her eighteenth year. She had the quickest parts of any of his children, but was extremely deformed and homely. She died at Kew of an inflammation in her bowels, having been ill but two days.

Boscawen defeats French fleet.

The beginning of the same month was distinguished by a torrent of prosperous news. The French fleet had sailed from Toulon. Admiral Boscawen* was refitting his squadron at Gibraltar—an inaction, of which they hoped to profit; but the alertness of our commander demolished their hopes. On notice of their approach he sailed out, and came up with the French off Cape Lagos in Portugal. They made a running fight, but could not escape the vigilance and bravery of Boscawen. Two of their largest ships were taken; two others forced on shore and burnt; in one of which was the commander, who was wounded in both legs, and expired soon after. The action passed on the 18th of August.

'Conquests in America.'

At the same time we learnt the conquest of Niagara by Sir William Johnson, the provincial hero. The account was carried to General Amherst on the very day on which he took possession of Ticonderoga and Crown-point, abandoned by

* Edward Boscawen was second son of Hugh, the first Viscount Falmouth.

the French. It had been the plan to attack all the strong posts of the French at once. Amherst * had the command in chief; and, by the river St. Laurence, was to fall on Quebec on one side, while the expedition under Wolfe and Saunders was to undertake the siege on the other. The conduct of that against Niagara was committed to General Prideaux, who was killed in the trenches by the bursting of a cohorn. Sir William Johnson, on whom the command devolved, took the place, after beating an army of French and Indians sent to relieve it. 1759.

Amid such a tide of success Lord George Sackville arrived in London. He immediately wrote to Lord Holderness to demand a court-martial. The demand was evaded for the present. He was told, the officers necessary were employed abroad. Lord Ligonier, the commander in chief, and Lord Barrington, secretary at war, were more explicit, and informed him, that, if he desired a court-martial, he must seek it in Germany. This was followed by a message delivered by the latter, acquainting Lord George, that not only the command of his regiment would be taken from him, but that he would be dismissed from his rank of general, and from his post of lieutenant-general of the ordnance; and Lord Barrington asked civilly if his lordship chose to receive that notification 'Lord G. Sackville.'

* Jeffery Amherst, afterwards knight of the Bath, and made a peer and commander-in-chief in the next reign.

1759. then from his mouth, or in writing! Lord George preferred the latter. "That," replied Lord Barrington, "will be easy; for I know but one precedent, that of the late Lord Cobham: I will send your lordship the same." Lord George smiled, and replied, "I hope your lordship will send me a copy of Lord Cobham's answer too."

'Lord G. Sackville.'

This behaviour of the court was not very intelligible: many even thought it had been concerted, as the gentlest way of letting Lord George escape. Certain it is, that their avoiding to call him to a trial made him presume on his cause, and resolve to try to correct the severity of his fortune. On the other hand, the punishment seemed too rigid to a man untried, uncondemned, who asked a trial, and against whom no complaint was preferred in form. He had even, a fortnight after his disgrace, written to Prince Ferdinand to know his charge. The latter protested he had no complaint against him, nor had written a word in his disfavour, *till* on hearing the discourses in the camp. Tenderness to so old a servant as the Duke of Dorset perhaps made the King willing to avoid the last severity, which, should Lord George be condemned, would be difficult to avoid. The officers of the fleet, who had seen an example made in their profession, would exclaim against partiality to a land-officer, the greatness of whose birth would be the obvious cause of such lenity. Mr. Pitt, too, was of no sanguinary complexion, though a rigid exactor of obedience. From the first moment of Lord

George's disgrace, Mr. Pitt warmly adopted the sentiments of Prince Ferdinand, whom he was determined heartily to support. Though he went to visit Lord George in form, he by no means meant to protect him. He would not, he said, condemn any man unheard. But he was sworn to the German cause, and to the heroes, whose success reflected such lustre on his own administration, and concurred so much to give it stability. When Fitzroy returned to the army, Mr. Pitt charged him with the strongest assurances to Prince Ferdinand (as Fitzroy told Mr. Conway): "Tell him," said Mr. Pitt, "he shall have what reinforcements, what ammunition he pleases—tell him I will stand or fall with him." Hearing, too, that Lord Mansfield connected with Lord George, and the law intended to support him, "The law," said Pitt, "have nothing to do with that question." Lord Granby succeeded Lord George Sackville in the ordnance, and General Waldegrave in the regiment. Lord George published a short address, intreating the nation to suspend their opinion till he could have an opportunity of clearing himself.

1759. 'Lord G. Sackville.'

In this month of September died Dr. Madox, bishop of Worcester, a man who, from very low beginnings, and with no visible address, had raised himself to great height in the church; and which at that time was singular, he never pushed his fortune through the Duke of Newcastle. He had higher merit, assiduously promoting regulations to prevent the destructive vices of the common people. He was succeeded by

1759. Johnson of Gloucester, who has been much mentioned in these Memoires on a particular occasion*.

Prince Ferdinand reaped as little advantage from his success at Minden as the enemies had from the defeat of the King of Prussia. The French army was still superior. Contades had so entirely lost his credit, that Marshal D'Etrèes, against his own inclination, was sent to share the command; and at least warded off any new disgrace to his country. Yet so sunk were both their councils and commanders in the estimation of the public, and so much of the national shame was attributed to the influence of Madame de Pompadour, that a description of their situation and of the supposed cause was fixed upon the walls of Versailles in these words,

'Marshal D'Estrèes.'

" Bateaux plats à vendre,
Soldats à louer,
Ministres à pendre,
Generaux à louer.
O France, le sexe femelle
Fit toujours ton destin,
Ton bonheur vint d'une Pucelle,
Ton malheur vient d'une catin."

But the measure of their disgraces was not yet compleat. They were foiled in the East Indies, as in all other parts. Lally, their general, a man of great parts and impetuosity, but with both the high and the low talents of an adventurer, was forced to raise the siege which he had undertaken of

French worsted in East Indies.

* The affair of Lord Ravensworth and Fawcet.

Madras, and resigned his command in indignation at the cowardice of his countrymen. Admiral Pococke twice beat their fleet. Their invasions on the Ohio cost them the second empire which they had so artfully and so silently been founding at the other end of the world. 1759.

The joy on those successes, however, was damped by a desponding letter received from General Wolfe before Quebec on the 14th of October. He had found the enterprize infinitely more difficult than he had conceived, the country strong from every circumstance of situation: the French had a superior army, had called in every Canadian capable of bearing arms: twenty-two ship-loads of provisions had escaped Admiral Durell, and got into the town: Amherst was not come up: and, above all, Montcalm, the French general, had shown that he understood the natural strength of the country, had posted himself in the most advantageous situation, and was not to be drawn from it by any stratagem which Wolfe, assisted by the steady co-operation of our fleet, could put in practice. Wolfe himself was languishing with the stone, and a complication of disorders which fatigue and disappointment had brought upon him. Townshend* and other officers had crossed him in his plans, but he had not yielded. Himself had been one of the warmest censurers of the miscarried expedition to Rochfort; and he had received this high com- 'Wolfe's embarrassments.'

* George, son of Charles Viscount Townshend, whom he succeeded.

1759.

'Wolfe's embarrassments.'

mand upon the assurance that no dangers or difficulties should discourage him. His army wasted before his eyes by sickness; the season advanced fast which must put an end to his attempts: he had no choice remaining but in variety of difficulties. In the most artfull terms that could be framed he left the nation uncertain whether he meaned to prepare an excuse for desisting, or to claim the melancholy merit of having sacrificed himself without a prospect of success.

Conquest of Quebec.

Three days after, an express arrived that Quebec was taken—a conquest heightened by the preceding gloom and despair. The rapidity with which our arms had prevailed in every quarter of the globe made us presume that Canada could not fail of being added to our acquisitions; and however arduously won, it would have sunk in value, if the transient cloud that overcast the dawn of this glory had not made it burst forth with redoubled lustre. The incidents of dramatic fiction could not be conducted with more address to lead an audience from despondency to sudden exultation, than accident prepared to excite the passions of a whole people.

Death of Wolfe.

They despaired—they triumphed—and they wept—for Wolfe had fallen in the hour of victory! Joy, grief, curiosity, astonishment, were painted in every countenance: the more they inquired, the higher their admiration rose. Not an incident but was heroic and affecting! Wolfe, between persuasion of the impracticability, unwillingness to leave any attempt untried that could be proposed, and worn out with

the anxiety of mind and body, had determined to make one last effort above the town. He embarked his forces at one in the morning, and passed the French sentinels in silence that were posted along the shore. The current carried them beyond the destined spot. They found themselves at the foot of a precipice, esteemed so impracticable, that only a slight guard of one hundred and fifty men defended it. Had there been a path, the night was too dark to discover it. The troops, whom nothing could discourage, for these difficulties could not, pulled themselves and one another up by stumps and boughs of trees. The guard, hearing a rustling, fired down the precipice at random, as our men did up into the air: but, terrified by the strangeness of the attempt, the French picquet fled—all but the captain, who, though wounded, would not accept quarter, but fired at one of our officers at the head of five hundred men. This, as he staked but a single life, was thought such an unfair war, that, instead of honouring his desperate valour, our men, to punish him, cut off his croix de St. Louis before they sent him to the hospital. Two of our officers, however, signed a certificate of his courage, lest the French should punish him as corrupted; our enterprize, unless facilitated by corruption, being deemed impossible to have taken place. Day-break discovered our forces in possession of the eminence. Montcalm could not credit it when reported to him—but it was too late to doubt when nothing but a battle could save the town. Even then he held our

1759. Conquest of Quebec.

1759. attempt so desperate, that, being shown the position of the English, he said, "*Oui, je les vois ou ils ne doivent pas être.*" Forced to quit his entrenchments, he said, "*S'il faut donc combattre, je vais les ecraser.*" He prepared for engagement, after lining the bushes with detachments of Indians. Our men, according to orders, reserved their fire with a patience and tranquillity equal to the resolution they had exerted in clambering the precipice—but when they gave it, it took place with such terrible slaughter of the enemy, that half an hour decided the day. The French fled precipitately; and Montcalm, endeavouring to rally them, was killed on the spot. General Monckton* was wounded early, and obliged to retire.

Death of Wolfe.

The fall of Wolfe was noble indeed. He received a wound in the head, but covered it from his soldiers with his handkerchief. A second ball struck him in the belly: that too he dissembled. A third hitting him in the breast, he sunk under the anguish, and was carried behind the ranks. Yet, fast as life ebbed out, his whole anxiety centered on the fortune of the day. He begged to be borne nearer to the action; but his sight being dimmed by the approach of death, he entreated to be told what they who supported him saw: he was answered, that the enemy gave ground. He eagerly repeated the question, heard the enemy was totally routed, cried "I am satisfied" —and expired.

* Robert Monckton, second son of the Lord Viscount Galway.

1759.

Conquest of Quebec.

In five days the town capitulated. Wolfe dead, and Monckton disabled, General Townshend signed the articles. He, and his friends for him, even attempted to ravish the honour of the conquest from Wolfe. Townshend's first letter said nothing in praise of him. In one to the Speaker of the House of Commons he went so far as indirectly to assume the glory of the last effort. The words were these, "We determined on the 13th of September to do what we ought to have done in the beginning: but in military operations it is never too late to reform." In other more private dispatches Townshend was still more explicit. These he ordered to be shown to the Prince of Wales, the Duke of Newcastle, and Mr. Pitt. From the first he received great assurances of countenance—but the passion of gratitude with which the nation was transported towards Wolfe's memory overbore all attempts to lessen his fame. It was not by surviving him that he could be eclipsed.

'Perfidy and cruelty of French government.'

Monsieur de Vaudreuil, governor of the province, had appeared at the close of the engagement, but, seeing his countrymen defeated, retired to Montreal. Had he fallen into our hands, our men were determined to scalp him, he having been the chief and blackest author of the cruelties exercised on our countrymen. Some of his letters were taken, in which he explicitly and basely said, that "Peace was the best time for making war on the English." Such perfidy, and such barbarism as was contained in the dispatches of Marshal Belleisle, mentioned before, affix a stain on a nation which it requires an age of generous heroism to wash out. The

1759. cruelties exercised in the palatinate by Louis XIV. conjured up that storm which overwhelmed the end of his reign, and enjoined the humiliating proposal of obliging him to concur in dethroning his own grandson. When ambition is inhuman and tyranny insolent, they double the bitterness of a reverse of fortune by having given a precedent of wanton indignities.

Bankruptcy of France.

The repeated misfortunes of France, and the efforts they had made without effect to bring the war to some tolerable conclusion, reduced them at last to a state of bankruptcy; a kind of evidence which even their future historians will not be able to parry. Defeated armies frequently claim the victory, but no nation ever sung *Te Deum* on becoming insolvent. Three arrêts were published by the court of France in October, suspending for a year the payment of the orders upon the general receipts of the finances, and allowing five per cent. on the respective sums as an indemnification. The second, of the same tenour with respect to the bills of the general farms; and the third suspending the reimbursement of capitals, as well in regard to the treasury as to the redemption-fund.

This stoppage * gave rise to a stroke of humour in the English newspapers, which, in the list of bankrupts, inserted these words, "*Louis le Petit*, of the city of Paris, peace-breaker, dealer, and chapman."

Monsieur Thurot, in the mean while, who had escaped

* The King, the princes of the blood, and the nobility, sent their plate to the mint.

our fleet, arrived at Gottenburgh; it was then supposed with an intention of taking some Swedish forces on board, and invading some part of Scotland or Ireland. Mr. Pitt, thinking too little attention was paid in Ireland to this project, wrote to the Duke of Bedford to notify the suspicions entertained here on that head. The duke too rashly communicated that intelligence to the Irish parliament, and his son, the Marquis of Tavistock, moved them to arm. The consequence was, that the bankers there took the alarm, and stopped payment. 1759. 'Thurot sails.'

The English parliament met October 13th. Beckford, by a high-flown encomium on Mr. Pitt, paved the way for that minister to open on his own and our situation, which he did with great address, seeming to wave any merit, but stating our success in a manner that excluded all others from a share in it. He disclaimed particular praise, and professed his determination of keeping united with the rest of the ministers. Fidelity and diligence was all he could boast, though his bad health perhaps had caused him to relax somewhat of his application. Not a week, he said, had passed in the summer but had been a crisis, in which he had not known whether he should be torn in pieces, or commended, as he was now by Mr. Beckford. That the more a man was versed in business, the more he found the hand of Providence every where. That success had given us unanimity, not unanimity success. That for himself, however, he could not have dared, as he had done, but in these times. Other ministers had hoped as well, but had not been circumstanced (not so popular) to dare as 'Parliament.'

1759.

'Mr. Pitt's speech.'

much. (This was handsome to them, yet appropriated the whole merit to himself.) He thought the stone almost rolled to the top of the hill, but it might roll back with dreadfull repercussion. A weak moment in the field, or in council, might overturn all; for there was no such thing as chance; *it was the unaccountable name of Nothing.* All was Providence, whose favour was to be merited by virtue. Our allies must be supported: if one wheel stopped, all might. He had unlearned his juvenile errors, and thought no longer that England could do all by itself; (This was an indirect apology for having embraced the German system; and what followed on the invasion was perhaps an artfull method of solliciting more troops, which, once voted, might be sent abroad)—*who had never been subject to a panic, was not likely to be terrified now.* He stated Prince Ferdinand's army as containing but 60,000 effective men: France, the next year, would have an hundred thousand—was Prince Ferdinand therefore as strong as we wished him? He did wish 10,000 more could be found for him; believed France meaned to invade us, though he should not look on the attempt as dangerous, if she did. He balanced his attention between the landed and the monied interest; said, he did not prefer the monied men and the eighty millions in the funds to the landed interest, though he thought our complaisance for the former ought to increase as public credit became more delicate. He ended with a mention of peace. Any body, he said, could advise him in war: who could draw such a peace as would please every body? He

would snatch at the first moment of peace; though he wished he could leave off at the war. This conclusion seemed to come from his heart, and perhaps escaped him without design. Though no man knew so well how to say what he pleased, no man ever knew so little what he was going to say*. Lord Buckingham moved the address in the Lords, and flung in much panegyric on George Townshend; whose friends were now reduced to compose and publish in his name a letter in praise of Wolfe. The ministers had proposed that the address of the Commons should be moved by Charles Townshend, the nearness of whose connection would exclude him from being profuse on his brother: but he refused on finding how little incense was intended to be offerred to their name. 1759.

The unanimity in the government which Mr. Pitt had advertized, was far from solid. It was not the fault of one man's vanity that it was not dissolved. Lord Temple taking advantage of the adoration which the nation paid to Mr. Pitt, asked—considering the moment, it may be said, demanded—the garter; and being refused, abruptly resigned the privy 'Lord Temple resigns the privy seal.'

* In 1766, Lord Chatham, then privy seal, in going down to parliament with Lord Shelburne, the secretary of state, in his carriage, communicated to him some intelligence which it was important should be known to the ministry, and equally important should be concealed from the public. Soon afterwards the coach stopped at the House of Lords, and Lord Shelburne carelessly asked Lord Chatham if he meant to speak that day?—"Not after what I have told you," was his lordship's answer. His companion then observed that he did not see why that should prevent him, as the matter communicated bore no sort of relation to the question coming on in the House. "True," said Lord Chatham; "but when my mind is full of a subject, if once I get on my legs, it is sure to run over."—E.

1759. seal. The insult, in effect, was to the nation: it was saying, "I will have that I will, or here end your victories; Mr. Pitt shall serve you no more." It was sacrificing largely to friendship and gratitude that Mr. Pitt did not reckon himself deeply insulted too. An ascendant so notified could not be endured by many men. What if Antony had said to Cæsar, "Abandon the conquest of Gaul, if I am not allowed to wear a chaplet of laurel!" Two days afterwards, the King commissioned the Duke of Devonshire to persuade Lord Temple to resume his place: some civil hints towards a promise of the garter were added. Lord Temple finding his resignation received by the world with due indignation, was not obdurate, and kissed hands again for the privy seal. He pretended to Lord Hertford, that finding himself ill-treated by the King, he had asked for the garter as an indication of returning favour; that his suit being rejected, he had begged an audience, in which he hoped he had effaced his majesty's ill impressions; and in which audience the King had three times pressed him to reconsider his resolution of retiring: that he had entreated Mr. Pitt to resent nothing on his account; and had insisted on his brothers retaining their places, and continuing to support the government, as he should himself: that he was then going out of town the most contented man in England. This passed before his resumption of the seal. To others he denied having asked the garter. He obtained it shortly after this violence.

'Lord Temple resumes the privy seal.'

On the 21st, Mr. Pitt moved the House of Commons to

order a monument for General Wolfe; and, in a low and plaintive voice, pronounced a kind of funeral oration. It was, perhaps, the worst harangue he ever uttered. His eloquence was too native not to suffer by being crouded into a ready-prepared mould. The parallels which he drew from Greek and Roman story did but flatten the pathetic of the topic. Mr. Pitt himself had done more for Britain than any orator for Rome. Our three last campaigns had over-run more world than they conquered in a century—and for the Grecians, their story were a pretty theme if the town of St. Albans were waging war with that of Brentford. The horror of the night, the precipice scaled by Wolfe, the empire he with a handfull of men added to England, and the glorious catastrophe of contentedly terminating life where his fame began—ancient story may be ransacked, and ostentatious philosophy thrown into the account, before an episode can be found to rank with Wolfe's. Beckford commended General Townshend, and hoped some thanks would be given to those who compleated the conquest. Sir William Williams enlarged on the praise of Wolfe. Lord North, in a more manly style, said it was a proof of Mr. Pitt's abilities, that they sat there securely decerning rewards, while the French fleet was sailed from Brest. For Wolfe, he had paid his debt of expectation. Pitt then moved, in general words, for thanks to the generals and admirals; mentioned them all, particularly Admiral Saunders, whose merit, he said, had equalled those who have beaten Armadas—"May I anticipate?" cried he, "those who *will* beat

1759.

Monument to Wolfe, and thanks to officers.

1759. Armadas!" He expatiated more largely on Townshend, who, he said, had gone unrequested whither the invited never came. This was far from being strictly fact. Townshend had gone unwillingly; sent even, as was believed, by Mr. Pitt, who wished to get rid of so troublesome a man. George Grenville put an end to the day in an affecting manner; mentioning the death of his younger brother Thomas, who, in the preceding war, had fallen with expressions of content* on a day of victory.

'Admiral Saunders.' Mr. Pitt's anticipation of Saunders's renown *was* prophetic. That admiral was a pattern of most steady bravery, united with the most unaffected modesty. No man said less, or deserved more. Simplicity in his manners, generosity, and good-nature, adorned his genuine love of his country. His services at Quebec had been eminent. Returning thence, he heard that Monsieur Conflans had taken the opportunity of Sir Edward Hawke's retiring to Gibraltar to refit, and had sailed out of Brest. Saunders, who heard the news at Plymouth, far from thinking he had done enough, turned back instantaneously, and sailed to assist Hawke. His patriotism dictated that step, and would not wait for other orders. He arrived too late—but a moment so embraced could not be accounted lost. Such, too, was the age, that England did not want the addition of a Saunders! That prudent and active

* He said, "This is preferable to being brought to a court-martial." There is a monument in Westminster abbey to his memory, and a column in the gardens at Stowe.

officer, Sir Edward Hawke, had sailed on the first notice to seek the French squadron. He had twenty-three ships, they twenty-one. He came up with them on their own coast; and, before half his fleet had joined him, began the attack. Conflans at first made a show of fighting, but soon took the part of endeavouring to shelter himself among the rocks, of which that coast is full. It was the 20th of November: the shortness of the day prevented the total demolition of the enemy—but darkness nor a dreadfull tempest that ensued could call off Sir Edward from pursuing his blow. The roaring of the elements was redoubled by the thunder from our ships; and both concurred, in that scene of horror, to put a period to the navy and hopes of France. Seven ships of the line got into the river Vilaine, eight more escaped to different ports. Conflans's own ship and another were run on shore and burnt. One we took. Two of ours were lost in the storm, but the crews saved. Lord Howe, who attacked the Formidable, bore down on her with such violence, that her prow forced in his lower tier of guns. Captain Digby*, in the Dunkirk, received the fire of twelve of the enemy's ships, and lost not a man. Keppel's was full of water, and he thought it sinking: a sudden squall emptied his ship, but he was informed all his powder was wet—"Then," said he, "I am sorry I am safe." They came and told him a small quantity was undamaged—"Very well," said he; "then attack again." Not above eight

1759.

'Hawke attacks Conflans' fleet.'

Hawke destroys the French fleet.

* Robert, brother of Edward and Henry, successively Lords Digby. He died, senior admiral of the royal navy, in 1814.—E.

1759. of our ships were engaged in obtaining that decisive victory. The invasion was heard of no more, but in a puny episode that will be mentioned hereafter. While in agitation, it was expected that the people would call for the Duke of Cumberland to command. The Duchess of Bedford told him of the rumour. "I do not believe, madam," replied the Prince, "that the command will be offerred to me, but when no wise man would accept it, and no honest man would refuse it."

Debates on extraordinary commissions.

The parliament in the mean time had sat on the army for the future year, and a new case had appeared before the committee of the Commons. Lord Downe*, Lord Pulteney†, and Sir William Peere Williams, had received general commissions to act as officers, yet their seats in parliament had not been declared vacant. As this seemed an innovation, and contrary to the usage of the House of Commons, Sir John Philipps desired to have the case explained. Lord Downe, he said, he knew had received a brevet, that, if taken prisoner, he might be intitled to the benefit of the cartel. Sir William Williams took upon him to explain it: declared he had no pay, never would accept pay, and had only a commission to raise men, as his zeal had prompted him to do. Mr. Fox asked, how he came then to be employed in any particular regiment? He

* Henry Pleydell Dawnay, Viscount Downe.

† William, only son of William Pulteney, Earl of Bath. These three spirited young men were taken off soon after this period. Lord Downe was killed in Germany, Sir W. Williams at Belleisle, and Lord Pulteney died in Spain, on his return to England.

replied readily, though his usual manner was formal, that he acted only by the regimental book at Northampton. Lord Barrington urged for Lord Downe, who was in Germany, that he acted only as deputy lieutenant-colonel, another person receiving the pay. Favour to those three disinterested young men obtained the connivance of the House, though the case indubitably was unparliamentary. The partiality of the Tories to George Townshend, who, having quitted the service during the command of the Duke of Cumberland, had again lately entered into it, and accepted a regiment, was still more remarkable. As no evasion could except him from the law, his case was not mentioned, and he continued to enjoy his seat without a re-election. Lord Barrington then opened the state of the army, which, including 18,000 militia, would amount to above 175,000 men in British pay. Sir John Philipps again glanced at new regiments and extraordinary commissions. Mr. Pitt avowed the measure for his own, and owned he would have carried it farther, if he had been permitted: related how he had been pleased with the behaviour of Colonel Hale, who had brought the news of the conquest of Quebec; and who finding an invasion threatened, and himself at a distance from his regiment, had offerred to form a corps of the footmen and chairmen of London, and lead them against the best houshold troops of France. For the œconomic part, to push expence was the best œconomy—for blood, we had lost none; never had been so bloodless a war; not fifteen hundred men had fallen in America. That the city of London had

1759.

'Army estimates.

1759. raised more men than Ireland in a twelvemonth. He hoped it would be related to the Irish parliament that they had been censured in the English. He did justice to the merit of General Amherst, whose campaign, if in Vegetius, all the world would admire: it was in America, and nobody regarded it. He dwelt on Amherst's letters to the provinces, exhorting, encouraging, and commanding their efforts for the common cause. He painted France in a state of bankruptcy and despondence; and their attempts as rather those of a dying than living monarchy. On this topic he made a fine conclusion—and the battle of Minden was not forgotten.

So much given to glory, something was to be done that might look like moderation. Europe began to take umbrage at our success: but, sailing with prosperity, Mr. Pitt did not trouble himself whether Europe's voice went along with his atchievements. It was the nation that he had made so great, that must be allured to approve his farther enterprizes. General Yorke, at the Hague, had received some anonymous proposals of peace, and had transmitted them to his father, who communicated them to the Duke of Newcastle. The latter mentioned them to Knyphausen, the Prussian minister, who, though enjoined to secrecy, revealed them to Lord Holderness. The latter, who had quitted Newcastle for Pitt, instantly carried the intelligence to his new patron. Pitt, enraged to find a kind of negotiation carrying on without the participation of either secretary, reproached Newcastle in warm terms. The latter threw the blame on General Yorke.

Proposals for peace ineffectual.

Pitt, however, thought it prudent (whether to have the honour of the treaty, or an opportunity of breaking it off) to direct General Yorke, in the name of his own King and of the King of Prussia, to acquaint Prince Lewis of Brunswic, who commanded the forces of Holland, and through him Monsieur D'Affry, the French minister at the Hague, and the ministers of Spain and Russia, that, notwithstanding our victories, we were willing to listen to terms of peace, if France would specify her proposals—an overture that ended in air. Nor did any subsequent step of Mr. Pitt speak him cordial to the business of peace. I have been told, he said, "that some time before he should have been well contented to bring France on her knees; now he would not rest till he had laid her on her back." 1759.

During these events of *eclat*, an incident happened that led to a discovery of some of the secret politics of the Heir-apparent's court. A seat for the county of Hampshire was become vacant, the Marquis of Winchester*, one of its members, succeeding his father in the dukedom. Legge, about the same time, had likewise vacated his seat for the same county, a patent-place devolving to him by the death of his brother. Lord Bute took that opportunity of notifying his resentment to Legge, who stood for the county, and carried it against one Stewart†, recommended by the earl. Pitt did not favour Legge; and was as little inclined to favour the views of the 'Heir-apparent's court.'

* Charles Poulet, eldest son of Harry, Duke of Bolton. He died in 1765.

† Not a Scot, but son of Sir Simeon Stewart, a Hampshire knight.

1759. Prince's court. Their mutual haughtiness and reserve had early impaired the connection of Lord Bute and Pitt. The Prince's court had secrets of their own; nor was Pitt more communicative to the successor of his grandfather's measures. The affair of Lord George Sackville, who was patronized by the Prince, widened the breach.

Victorious officers rewarded.

Rewards were now bestowed on the meritorious commanders. Sir Edward Hawke, a man void of ostentation or ambition, was rewarded with an annual pension of 1500*l.* for thirty years. Admiral Boscawen was made general of marines, and Saunders lieutenant-general; the former with 5*l.* a day, the latter with 4*l.* A present of twenty thousand pounds was given to Prince Ferdinand by the King, but brought into the House of Commons with other charges of the year. Sir John Philipps, obliquely to make the King's parsimony remarked, who had made a present to his general at the expence of his people, found fault with the manner, and said that the gift of the House ought to have been transacted in a handsomer manner. Pitt took the advice on himself, and descanted on the merit of the Prince, who had served us for two years without pay; talked on the rewards to the Duke of Marlborough; and quoted Lord Stair for having in one article charged 40,000*l.* for putting the Austrians in motion. But neither was the present itself blamed, nor could the Prince be said to have served for nothing. Twelve thousand pounds a year were paid to him for his table and stables: he had the garter, and a pension of two thousand a year on Ireland.

If he sufferred his German agents to embezzle millions without accounting with him, he had less *prudence* than the Duke of Marlborough—and yet did not escape similar suspicions. 1759.

Towards the close of the year, Nugent was made vice-treasurer of Ireland, on the death of Potter, and was succeeded in the treasury by Oswald. Pitt, in contradiction to the house of Manners, who sollicited for Dr. Ewer, to Newcastle, who stickled for a Cambridge man, and to the opposition of the episcopal bench, made Warburton bishop of Gloucester; whose doubtfull Christianity, whose writings and turbulent arrogance, made him generally obnoxious. Warburton, inquiring of a friend what the clergy thought of his promotion, and being told how much it offended them, said, "Tell them, it was well for their cause that I did not embrace any other profession."—We must now take a view of another scene. Warburton made bishop.

Mr. Pitt, as I have said, had endeavoured to instill apprehensions of an invasion into the Irish parliament; at least, to encourage a spirit of raising troops, which might afterwards be applied to other services. It happened at that juncture that there was another point which alarmed the Irish more than the rumours of invasion. This was a jealousy that an union with England was intended, which they regarded as the means of subjecting them farther to this crown. This union was, indeed, a favourite object with Lord Hilsborough. He had hinted such a wish a year or two before in the parliament Ireland.

1759.

Tumults in Dublin.

of England; and being now in Ireland, let drop expressions of the same tendency. This was no sooner divulged than Dublin was in a flame. The mob grew outrageous, and assembled at the door of the House of Commons. Mr. Rigby* went forth and assured them there was no foundation for their jealousy: but *his* word they would not take. Ponsonby, the Speaker, was at last obliged to go out and pacify them; and Mr. Rigby declared in the House, that if a Bill of Union was brought in, he would vote against it. The tumult then subsided; but Rigby soon after, in consequence of the representations from England, moving that the lord-lieutenant might on an emergency, such as on an invasion, summon the parliament to meet without an intervention of forty days, the former suspicions revived, and Rigby's motion was interpreted as preparatory to some sudden scheme of union before measures could be taken to oppose it. The surmize was absurd; for were any surprize intended, the forms are so many before a bill can be compleat in Ireland, that time can never be wanted to withstand the most expeditious. A bill must come from the Irish privy council to their House of Commons, must return to the council, must then be transmitted to England and back again, before it becomes a law. But mobs do not reason, nor, if once prepossessed, listen to reason. A dangerous riot ensued; the people rose in all parts of Dublin, and possessing themselves of the avenues to the par-

* Richard Rigby, favourite secretary to the Duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant. He was afterwards paymaster, and died April 8, 1788.

liament, seized on the members, and obliged them to take an oath to be true to their country, and to vote against an union. Many were worse treated. One Rowley, a rich presbyterian, who had long opposed the administration, they seized and stripped, and were going to drown, from which they were with difficulty prevented. Lord Inchiquin, who was newly arrived from the country on purpose to oppose the rumoured union, was alike insulted. They pulled off his perriwig and red ribband, and put the oath to him. He had an impediment in his speech, and stuttering, they cried, "Damn you, do you hesitate?" but hearing that his name was Obrien, their rage was turned into acclamations. They pulled the Bishop of Killala out of his coach, as they did the Lord Chancellor Bowes, obliging him to take their oath; but being seized with a droll scruple that their administring the oath did not give it legality, they stopped the chief justice, and made the chancellor renew the oath before him. Malone was so little in their favour, that though he had taken the oath, one of the ringleaders dipped his fist in the kennel before he would shake hands with him. They then went to the House of Lords, where Sir Thomas Pendergrass looking out, they pulled him forth by the nose, and rolled him in the kennel. In the House they found Lord Farnham taking the oaths on the death of his father, instead of which they made him take theirs. There they committed the grossest and most filthy indecencies, placed an old woman on the throne, and sent for

1759.

Tumults in Dublin.

1759.

Tumults in Dublin.

pipes and tobacco for her. They next went to the House of Commons, and ordered the clerk to bring them the journals to burn. He obeyed; but telling them they would destroy the only records of the glorious year 1755, they were contented to restore them. But their greatest fury was intended against Rigby, whom the Duke of Bedford had lately made their Master of the Rolls. The office there is no post of business: still the choice of a man so little grave was not decent. The mob prepared a gallows, and were determined to hang Rigby on it; but, fortunately, that morning he had gone out of town to ride, and received timely notice not to return. The Duke of Bedford sent to the mayor to quell the tumult, but he excused himself on pretence of there being no riot-act in Ireland. The privy council was then called together, who advised sending for a troop of horse. That was executed: the troopers were ordered not to fire; but riding among the mob with their swords drawn, slashing and cutting, they at length dispersed the rioters, after putting to death fifteen or sixteen.

The Duke of Bedford and Rigby, in their letters to England, carefully concealed the enormity of the outrage. They knew Lord Temple wished to be lord-lieutenant; and perhaps suspected, that that ambition had been the foundation of Mr. Pitt's expostulations. Those seeds of jealousy, combining with Rigby's devotion to Fox, gave rise to the succeeding animosities between the duke and Pitt. What was

1759.

Tumults in Ireland.

more remarkable was, that the letters from the castle acquitted the Papists of being authors of the sedition; yet, a short time before, the duke had quarrelled with the primate for saying he had no apprehensions from that quarter. Whatever was pretended, there was much reason for believing that the insurrection had deeper foundation than in a meer jealousy of an union with England. Seditious papers had been printed: two drummers, in the livery of the college, had commenced the uproar in the Earl of Meath's liberties, telling the people, that if they did not rise by one o'clock, an act would be passed to abolish parliaments in Ireland. So small, too, was the dislike to the then government, that one of the rioters skimming away Lord Tavistock's* hat, his comrades gave him 200 lashes, saying, Lord Tavistock had not offended them. But the strongest presumption of the tumult being excited by the emissaries of France came out afterwards; it appearing that the commotion began the very day after intelligence was received that the French fleet was sailed from Brest. Indeed it is now past doubt that the court of France had laid a very extensive plan, meditating an attack on the three kingdoms at one and the same time. England was to be invaded from Dunkirk, Ireland by the Brest fleet, while Thurot† was to fall on the north of Scotland. Nor was Dublin the sole theatre

* Only son of the Duke of Bedford. (I find 200 lashes in my notes, but it is not probable that they carried their severity so far for so trifling an offence.)

† The plan was Marshal Belleisle's. The author of *La Vie Privèe de Louis XV.* says, that Thurot had orders not to commit hostilities on Scotland, but to

1759. where confusion was to be spread. Riots were raised at Cork on the prohibition of exporting Irish cattle. Mr. Pitt wrote a warm letter to the Duke of Bedford to complain of his supineness after such repeated intelligence of the designs of France.

'Irish parliament.' That storm weathered, the castle met with little opposition. Perry, the most formidable of the minority, they bought off. One man alone gave them trouble; his name Hutchinson*, a lawyer. His views he owned himself. Being asked, on leaving England, whether he should addict himself to the opposition or to the castle, he replied, "Not to the castle certainly; nothing is to be gotten there"—meaning

invite the Jacobites to join him.—Vol. iii. That author has collected a great deal of curious matter, as far as he could be assisted by public materials; but his secret history is far from being equally authentic, nor does he seem to have been conversant with persons well informed and near the scene of action. He thinks the first cause of the Dauphin's illness and death proceeded from his vexation at the expulsion of the Jesuits. The Dauphin had been bred a bigot; but, before his death, was grown a freethinker to a very great latitude, and gave very indubitable marks of it in the last days of his life. The author was as ignorant of the motives of the Duc de Choiseul's opposition to Madame du Barri, and his consequential fall, which the author imputes to the Duchesse de Grammont, his sister, being provoked at not being the King's mistress herself—a vulgar story. The author seems to be most versed in the marine, and the great object of his work to show that all the successes of the English, in 1759 and 1760, were owing to the incapacity of all the ministers and commanders, and especially to the cowardice of their admirals, to the King's indolence, and to Madame de Pompadour's ascendant.

* Hely Hutchinson, afterwards provost of the college at Dublin; where his conduct was so violent as to draw on him a most acrimonious inquest, which he repelled by equal adulation to power.

that Rigby engrossed every thing. Hutchinson had good parts, and exerted them briskly, annoying Rigby, Malone, and the courtiers. He said, Lord George Sackville had parts, but no integrity; Conway integrity, but no parts; now they were governed by one who had neither. There was more wit than truth in this description. Conway's parts, though not brilliant, were solid: for Rigby, though he never shone in the Irish parliament, no man wanted parts less—and his joviality soon made him not only captivate so bacchanalian a capital, but impress a very durable memory of his festive sociability. For the Irish courtiers, it required no masterly pencil to expose their profligacy. That was the case of Sir Richard Cox. Hutchinson moved a resolution that the vote against pensions had had effect. "It is true," said Sir Richard: "I lost a small pension, and have got a good place—yet I should not have expected such a motion from that gentleman." "Oh!" replied Hutchinson, "I should have opposed the motion in the House, though I have now made it in the committee: I only had a mind to try if this committee would not vote for any thing—yet I cannot believe that gentleman (Sir Richard Cox) is so very profligate and abandoned as he says himself." 1759.

Finished Oct. 28, 1768.

MEMOIRES

OF

THE YEAR 1760.

Une noble hardiesse reveille l'enthousiasme national.

Siecle d'Alexandre, p. 177.

THE year began, as the last had concluded, with severe weather and hard frost: yet the armies in Germany kept the field. Glory was not the object of that war. Mutual animosity excluded all confidence, and neither side would retire a foot, while both were impatient to bring things to a conclusion, and while the Empress-Queen, especially, flattered herself with hopes of crushing her enemy. What the country suffered from that bitterness is not to be expressed—but when are the number considered? None suffered more than the Saxons. While their King and his criminal favorite were wearing out their inglorious lives in Poland, without power or esteem, Dresden endured the worst consequences of Bruhl's

1760.

'War in Germany.'

1760.

Prince Ferdinand's detachment to King of Prussia.

impertinent ambition. Bread was risen there to eleven pence a pound. Our army suffered no less hardships: one day in December they were fourteen hours under arms, expecting to be attacked by the French, which was threatened by Broglio, whose natural vivacity was encouraged by Prince Ferdinand weakening our army. Without waiting for permission from England, he had detached 12,000 men, under the Hereditary Prince, to the assistance of the King of Prussia; a step that highly and justly offended King George; and the more provoking, as there was reason to believe the measure concerted with the King of Prussia to involve both Hanoverians and English in actual war with the Empress-Queen; a declaration which the British monarch, both as King and Elector, had hitherto carefully avoided. The first question Frederic put to the Prince of Brunswick was, "What English have you brought to me?" There were both Highlanders and Hanoverians. Broglio did, indeed, make an attack on Prince Ferdinand, who retreated, but repulsed the French to their loss.

In England the winter was not memorable for any parliamentary debates: the few of consequence shall be mentioned. Other events, too, I shall not omit. These sheets, I have often declared, were less intended for a history of war than for civil annals. Whatever, therefore, leads to a knowledge of the characters of remarkable persons, of the manners of the age, and of its political intrigues, comes properly within my plan. I am more attentive to deserve the thanks of

posterity than their admiration. A great modern author (Voltaire) recommends the omission of small circumstances, and would confine history to its capital outlines. In the first place, mine is not history, but Memoires. Next, what would be less amusing than such a history? Battles, revolutions, and the wild waste of war, are common to all times; but they are the circumstances that distinguish one age from another. Lastly, future historians may reject the rubbish, and preserve only striking events: yet, for the power of such choice, he must be indebted to us cotemporaries. With me, I own, one reflection farther has determined me to the course I have pursued. They are the minutiæ of which I have observed posterity is ever most fond: they are the omissions that historians in their grandeur disdain to record, which the humble reader most painfully labours to recover, and, if recovered, to weave into the materials of which he is already possessed. The patchwork seldom unites well, for want of those lights which cotemporaries might have given. Is it not more eligible to have chaff to winnow, than to add to a stack?

1760.

'Value of contemporary Memoires.'

Lord Bath*, assisted by Douglas†, his chaplain, published a piece called A Letter to Two Great Men (Mr. Pitt and the

Lord Bath's letter.

* William Pulteney, the celebrated Earl of Bath.

† Dr. Douglas, canon of Windsor, known for his detection of Lauder, and controversy with Archibald Bower, author of the Lives of the Popes.—A.

He became bishop of Carlisle in 1788, bishop of Salisbury in 1791, and died in 1807.—E.

1760. Duke of Newcastle). It contained a plan of the terms which his lordship thought we ought to demand, if we concluded a peace: it was as little regarded by the persons it addressed, as a work of Mr. Pitt's would have been, if, outliving his patriotism, power, and character, he should twenty years after have emerged in a pamphlet. However, it pleased in coffee-houses more than it deserved; yet made much less noise than a farce written at the same time by an Irish player, one Macklyn*, called *Love à la Mode*. The principal characters were a Scotchman and an Irishman: the first, heightened and odious; the latter, softened and amiable, played inimitably by one Moody. What made it memorable was, that Lord Bute† interposed to have it prohibited. This intervention made the ridicule on the Scotch the more tasted; and being tasted, it would have been too offensive to the public to have stopped the run. A composition was made that it should not be

'Macklyn's *Love à la Mode*.'

* Macklyn, in general a disagreeable actor, was liked in Iago, and extremely admired in Shylock the Jew. He had been tried and honorably acquitted for the murder of another actor, but his character was not popular. He played the Scotchman himself in his own farce, but not well: however, its not being printed, nor played but when he pleased, made it always draw crouded audiences; which, with having a daughter who was a pretty good actress, and of an excellent character, made him never rejected by the theatres, though of a quarrelsome temper. He continued to play for twenty years, and, though past fourscore, retained so much vigour and parts, that he wrote another piece, not less severe on the Scotch, though it was much curtailed before he could obtain permission to have it acted; and though it succeeded, it was not near so much liked as his *Love à la Mode*.

† John Stuart, Earl of Bute, a very considerable personage in the succeeding reign.

printed. The King, whose age then kept him from public places, sent for the copy, and ordered it to be read to him. 1760.

Lord George Sackville, having waited till the officers returned from Germany, had written at the end of the year to Lord Holderness, demanding a court-martial. He received for answer, that it would be referred to the judges; a question having arisen, whether he could legally be tried, the orders he had disobeyed having been given by a foreigner. The attorney and sollicitor generals, however, not the judges, were the persons consulted, and they gave their opinions that he might have a court-martial. Another doubt had been started, whether, having been dismissed from the service, his lordship could yet be subject to military law: but this was then passed over; and, Jan. 18th, Lord Holderness notified the opinion of the attorney and sollicitor to Lord George, adding, that his majesty desired to know how his lordship wished to have the proceeding, *as there was no specific charge against him.* This disculpation under the hand of a secretary of state was remarkable. Some surmized that it had been contrived by Lord Mansfield, a friend to Lord George. It was palpable, at least, that the court had gone even this length, in order to hold out to Lord George an opportunity of not pushing the matter any farther. He, notwithstanding, assuming to himself such a conviction of innocence, that he declared he would even accept of Lord Tyrawley* (a brutal man, and one of his

Lord G. Sackville demands a court-martial.

* Being told that General Conway, whose miscarriage at Rochfort it was supposed Lord George had inflamed, would be of the court-martial against him, he

1760. bitterest foes on that and former occasions) for president of the court-martial, wrote in reply to Lord Holderness, "that he had no business to accuse himself, nor had been guilty of any fault; but that he concluded Prince Ferdinand must have exhibited some charge against him; otherwise, undoubtedly his majesty would not have stripped him of every thing in so ignominious a manner. He therefore repeated his petition for a court-martial, and would abide the event." Intimations at the same time were privately given to Lord George, that if he would desist from prosecuting the affair, the court would also. On the other hand he was told, that be the consequence how severe so ever, the King was firm to let the law take its course, should the court-martial once proceed. With any mitigation of his fate, if the event was sinister, Lord George could not flatter himself. He had too many and too powerfull enemies, to expect any remission. The King hated him, and hated those who favoured him, the Prince's faction. The Duke was as ill-inclined to him. Fox, from private resentments, was his enemy. The army, whether the officers were attached to the Duke, to Prince Ferdinand, or to Lord Granby, were equally averse to him. Mr. Pitt, though *no bitter enemy*, had adopted Prince Ferdinand's cause. The people, too, who

Lord G. Sackville.

said, he should wish for no man sooner for his judge—the highest compliment that could be paid to Conway's integrity and candour. Though at their outset, both as soldiers and parliamentary speakers, the world had marked them as rivals, there never was any open enmity between them; nor were they ever intimate: the spotless virtue of Conway, his disinterestedness, and total alienation from all political intrigues, could not assimilate with a man so different.

in a free country are reckoned for something, were prepossessed against him. In his own profession he had disgusted many, both of superior and inferior rank. Newcastle, who never felt for a powerless friend, had abandoned him. The house of Bedford, from reasons of family*, were not his well-wishers. What had he to depend on?—an ancient father and mother, of great dignity indeed, and old servants of the crown†; but the duke retired, disgraced almost, and worn out by age and infirmities; their small circle of friends; the Scotch, obnoxious at court by the mutual hatred between the Duke of Cumberland and them since the last rebellion, and from being attached to the Prince, and even by being attached to Lord George; his own parts; and perhaps the unwillingness of every profession to proceed against a member of their own corps—what frail trust, when weighed against influence!—yet he pushed on his trial, and sought danger, though he saw it, and must have weighed it. If here ambition preponderated over fear, at least he was not always a coward. It was pretended that Lord Mansfield had assured him he could not be convicted—but do general officers weigh legal niceties in the scales of Westminster hall? Does their education qualify them for the tenderness required of English juries? Are not military men apt to pique themselves on showing antipathy to every

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* The sister of the Duchess of Bedford had married Lord John Sackville, and had quarrelled with Lord George.

† The Duke of Dorset had enjoyed many great employments both in the court and state: the duchess had been mistress of the robes to the late Queen.

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suspicion of cowardice, unless they are very brave and sensible indeed?—For my own part, I would sooner pronounce Lord George a hero for provoking his trial, than a coward for shrinking from the French. He would have been in less danger by leading up the cavalry at Minden, than in every hour that he went down to the Horse-guards as a criminal. But whatever apology is due to Lord George's spirit, none offers itself for his judgment. The obvious consequence of a trial was condemnation. Laying aside the consideration of life, ambition, and restlessness under the ruin of his fortune, which probably dictated his insisting on a court-martial, were almost certain of being disappointed by a formal sentence*. A legal conviction of cowardice would for ever dash his hopes. An acquittal would but partially remove such an imputation. The court's avowal of there being no specific charge against him was equal in value to *such* an acquittal. Time would have drawn a kind of oblivion over what was passed: art and future incidents might have superinduced a plea in his favour from the supposed animosity of Prince Ferdinand. A declaration of the court rather in his favour was of more weight than even an acquittal after the reproach of an actual trial. As a military man he could entertain no farther views. In a

* This reasoning was not destroyed by Lord George's being afterwards twice employed in civil employments, the second time in a very high one; for though he had occasion to prove his personal courage, the imputation of wanting it was never effaced; and was so often thrown in his face, that he never afterwards recovered spirit enough to act with dignity, nor to display the parts which had been so conspicuous in his early life.

civil light he might thereafter construe the rigour he had felt into substantial merit. The approaching reign promised to be favorable to any sufferer under the present; nor could Lord George but know, that to be the enemy of Prince Ferdinand would be meritorious in the eyes of the Prince and Princess Dowager, who hated the ducal line of Brunswic. But this was not the only error Lord George Sackville had made in judgment. It is not easy to conceive why he had persisted to seek employment in Germany, if he felt *that* within him which told him the road of martial glory was not his proper walk. He had interest enough to wave service; and had his declining it been interpreted to his disadvantage, what was suspicion in comparison of proof? On the 23d of January he was acquainted that he should have a court-martial. It was appointed, and General Onslow* constituted president. A messenger was dispatched to Prince Ferdinand to send over evidence. To General Balfour, nominated one of his judges, Lord George objected on the score of former enmity between them.

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While this affair was depending, a more atrocious criminal appeared on the stage. Lawrence, Earl Ferrers, had been parted from his wife†, and an allowance settled on her by parliament out of his estate, for his causeless ill-usage of her.

Earl Ferrers.

* Richard Onslow, brother of the Speaker of the House of Commons.

† Sister of Sir William Meredith, a most amiable woman; afterwards married to Lord Frederic Campbell, brother of the Duke of Argyle.—A. She was burnt to death in 1807.—E.

1760. A receiver of his rents, too, had been appointed, but the nomination left to the earl, who named one Johnson, his own steward. That honest man not proving so tractable as his lordship expected, had fallen under his displeasure. The earl lived at his own seat in Leicestershire with a former mistress, whom he had taken again on being seperated from his wife, and by whom he had four children. In that retirement there appeared many symptoms of a phrenzy incident to his family, as had also during his cohabitation with his lady; and frequent drunkenness inflamed the disorder. In that mood of madness and revenge he sent for Johnson, having artfully dispatched his family and servants different ways on various pretences. The poor man was no sooner alone with him, than the earl locking the door, and holding a pistol to his breast, would have obliged Johnson to sign a paper, avowing himself a villain. While the unhappy man, kneeling at his feet, hesitated to sign, Lord Ferrers shot him in the body. The wound was mortal, but not instantly so. Remorse or fear seized on the murderer, for he was then sober. He sent for a surgeon, and wished to have Johnson saved. Those sentiments soon vanished, or were expelled by drink; for the earl passed the remaining hours of that horrid day between his bottle and the chamber of the expiring man, sometimes in promises to his daughter, whom he had summoned to her father, oftener in transports of insult, threats, and cruelty, to the victim himself, who languished till the next morning. At first the peer prepared to defend himself

Earl Ferrers murders his steward.

from being seized; but his courage failed him, as it had on former occasions. He was apprehended by the populace, and lodged in Leicester jayl. Thence he was brought to town, and carried before the House of Lords, where his behaviour was cool and sensible. The Lords committed him to the Tower. 1760.

In February was tried a criminal of a still different complexion. Dr. Smollet was convicted in the King's Bench of publishing scurrilous abuse on Admiral Knollys in the Critical Review. Smollet was a worthless man, and only mentioned here because author of a History of England, of the errors in which posterity ought to be warned. Smollet was bred a sea-surgeon, and turned author. He wrote a tragedy, and sent it to Lord Lyttelton, with whom he was not acquainted. Lord Lyttelton not caring to point out its defects, civilly advised him to try comedy. He wrote one, and sollicited the same lord to recommend it to the stage. The latter excused himself, but promised, if it should be acted, to do all the service in his power for the author. Smollet's return was drawing an abusive portrait of Lord Lyttelton in Roderick Random, a novel; of which sort he published two or three. His next attempt was on the History of England; a work in which he engaged for booksellers, and finished, though four volumes in quarto, in two years; yet an easy task, as being pilfered from other histories. Accordingly it was little noticed till it came down to the present times: then, though compiled from the libels of the age and the most paltry materials, yet being heightened by personal invectives, strong Jacobitism, and the worst representation of the Duke of Cumberland's conduct in

Smollet punished for a libel.

1760. Smollet.

Scotland, the sale was prodigious. Eleven thousand copies of that trash were instantly sold, while at the same time the university of Oxford ventured to print but two thousand of that inimitable work, Lord Clarendon's Life! A reflection on the age sad to mention, yet too true to be suppressed! Smollet's work was again printed, and again tasted: it was adorned with wretched prints, except two or three by Strange*, who could not refuse his admirable graver to the service of the Jacobite cause. Smollet then engaged in a monthly magazine, called the Critical Review, the scope of which was to decry any work that appeared favorable to the principles of the Revolution. Nor was he single in that measure. The Scotch in the heart of London assumed a dictatorial power of reviling every book that censured the Stuarts, or upheld the Revolution—a provocation they ought to have remembered when the tide rolled back upon them. Smollet, while in prison†, undertook a new magazine; and

* Strange was a most undisguised Jacobite. Alan Ramsay, the painter, of as disaffected a family, (and who had set out to join the Pretender, when he heard of his defeat,) being offended that Strange had been unwilling to engrave his portrait of George III., imputed it to Strange's Jacobitism. The latter, who certainly had been patronized by Lord Bute on the death of George II., but quarrelled with him, published a pamphlet against the earl, in which he taxed the earl with the ridiculous vanity of chusing to have his own portrait engraved before the King's.

† It was worth remembering, that amongst the authors patronized and pensioned by George the Third, were Smollet, imprisoned for a libel; Shebbeare, who had stood in the pillory for abusing George I., King William, and the Revolution; and some other libellers.—A.

To have patronized two ingenious men of letters, though formerly convicted of political libels, is no discredit whatever to George III.—When, indeed, during

notwithstanding the notoriety of his disaffection, obtained the King's patent for it by the interest of Mr. Pitt, to whom he had dedicated his History. In the following reign he was hired to write a scurrilous paper, called the Briton, against that very patron, Mr. Pitt. 1760.

While the trials of Lord George Sackville and Earl Ferrers were preparing, the attention of the public was drawn off to Ireland. We have mentioned the escape of Thurot from Dunkirk, and his arrival with his pigmy squadron in Sweden. His expedition was a codicil to the lofty plan of invading these kingdoms in various parts at once. While the expedition from the coast of France should pour its flat-bottomed boats on this island, Conflans was to fall on Ireland, and Thurot to make a diversion either in Scotland or in the North of Ireland. His armament, originally composed but of five frigates, was by various accidents reduced to three: his twelve hundred men, by sickness, to half that number. The winter too was so adverse, that they lost three months in beating about among the northern isles; whence their provisions were so consumed, that they were obliged in the middle of February to put into the Isle of Islay to recruit. Supplied they were, and paid for what they received. Scot- Thurot's expedition to Ireland.

his reign, new and severer laws were devised against political libel, it might have been *worth remembering* how many worthy, eminent, and learned men had incurred the guilt, and been exposed to the consequences of that imperfectly defined species of offence, at various periods of our history: a circumstance from which it must naturally be inferred, that all further penalties adopted by parliament may be inflicted on others, as worthy, as eminent, and as learned.—E.

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Thurot's expedition to Ireland.

land was too wise to take a step farther in behalf of so forlorn a hope. There he learned the fate of the larger machine, the defeat of Conflans. Ambitious however of personal honour, and aware that desperate characters can only be supported by desperate actions, he determined to make an attempt on some part of Ireland; and about the 28th of February appeared before Carrickfergus. The remonstrances of the English ministry had operated so little on the administration in Ireland, that Carrickfergus, though seated in the heart of the Protestant interest, where arms might securely have been trusted, was found by Thurot totally unguarded and unprovided. Making a draught from his seamen, he landed with a small body, and prepared to attack the town which was so little prepared to resist. The walls were ruinous, in many places incompleat. The force within consisted of four companies—unluckily, *they* consisted but of seventy-two men. They were commanded by Lieutenant-colonel Jennings, a man formed for a hero; for he had great bravery and a small portion of sense. Thurot, who wanted provisions even more than glory, was content to make a demand of about twenty articles, for which he promised to pay. In case of refusal he threatened to burn the place, and then to march to Belfast, a far more opulent and commercial town. Colonel Jennings, who had scarce any ammunition, thought it more prudent to comply than to resist, when he had no means of resisting. He agreed to furnish Thurot with what he wanted. Some disagreement, however, arising, the capitulation was broken.

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Thurot's expedition to Ireland.

The gates were shut against the invaders—still to the honour of Jennings, for the gates had neither bars nor locks. The fight began with firing at each other through the gates: but the Irish ammunition soon failing, so brave was the garrison, and so zealous the inhabitants, that for some time they defended themselves with brick-bats, which the rotten condition of the walls easily supplied. When even those stores were exhausted, Jennings retired to the castle, while four or five raw recruits still defended the shattered gates. The citadel, however, could not hold out without either powder or provisions. It surrendered, and the garrison were made prisoners. Thurot plundered the town, and then sent to demand contributions from Belfast.

Ridiculous as this campaign was, it was no joke to the Duke of Bedford. Jennings and his puny force had shown themselves willing to do their utmost. The success of Thurot was a glaring comment on the negligence of his grace's administration. The danger to which so wealthy a town as Belfast was exposed was still more alarming. General Fitzwilliam was immediately detached with four regiments of foot and three of horse to drive out the invaders. The lord lieutenant in person promised to overtake him at Newry. But Thurot would not give his grace an opportunity of retrieving his own carelesness. Taking along with him the mayor and three of the principal inhabitants of Carrickfergus, Thurot again put to sea. Another measure taken by the Irish administration had luckier consequences. They had

1760. sent advice of the invasion to Kingsale, where lay three of our best frigates. Elliot * commanded them. He instantly sailed, and came up with Thurot in the Irish Channel. Elliot's vessels were inferior in size and number to Thurot's, but cleaner, and the men fresh. After a smart action, he boarded Thurot's death. Thurot's ship. The latter fell, but not till he had given proof of the most romantic bravery. The other two frigates soon struck, and were all carried into the Isle of Man. Elliot's account to the Admiralty was penned with such modesty, that a more important victory had not been more honorable.

Feb. 28th, Lord Barrington acquainted the House of Commons that Lord George Sackville had been put under arrest for disobedience of orders. The Speaker had been much averse to the trial of a member who was no longer in the army, and hoped it would be opposed: but it was not. Lord Milton †, brother-in-law of Lord George, was empowered by him to say that the trial was what he earnestly desired. Lord Barrington then moved an address of thanks to the King for the communication, and for his Majesty's tenderness of the privileges of the House. This being readily agreed to, Lord Barrington said it was *nemine contradicente;* but Doddington ‡ had faintly said no, and the Speaker said there had

* Brother of Sir Gilbert Elliot, one of the lords of the Treasury.

† Joseph Damer Lord Milton had married Lady Caroline Sackville, sister of Lord George.—A. He was created an earl in 1792, and died in 1798.—E.

‡ Doddington was an old friend of the Duke of Dorset, was no friend to Mr. Pitt, and was attached to the Princess-dowager: so was Sir Francis Dashwood.

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been a negative. Sir Francis Dashwood then said, that he had not opposed the address, as Lord George wished the trial; but he hoped the measure would be considered hereafter in some mutiny-bill, and that the time might be limited how long persons who had quitted the army should be liable to martial law. Doddington added, "That every body seemed to agree it ought not to remain law; that he did not think it law; nay, that Lord George might have been tried while he was a military man. Martial law was growing upon us, would eat up the banks, and overflow the whole. The Mutiny-bill fell to the ground every year, but, like the giant, recovered new strength on touching it." Sir John Rushout added, that, were he in the army, he would not sit on the trial of any man out of it. Sir Francis Dashwood promised to call for a revisal of the Mutiny-bill, if nobody else did.

Debate on trial of member of House of Commons.

The next day the court-martial met. When Lord George Sackville appeared before it, seeing General Balfour on the bench, he said, he thought that officer had not been to sit on him, he having made his exceptions, and been told Balfour should not be of the court. Balfour said, he came not to be a judge, nor desired to be, but to know the exception, which he thought touched his honour—a strong proof how dissonant courts-martial are from the spirit of the English constitution, which does not understand that persons accused are to be awed by points of romantic honour from excepting against their jury, if suspected of enmity or partiality. Lord George pleaded opposition that Balfour had exercised against him

Court martial on Lord G. Sackville.

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in the Ordnance. The court-martial voted that reason insufficient, but told Balfour they would excuse his attendance if he desired it; which he did. They had no such power either of voting the exception invalid, or of excusing him. The King had appointed him, and had allowed the exception. Their next step was more respectfull to the laws, and came from a quarter which was not suspected of much tenderness to the prisoner. Lord Albemarle* asked him if he was in the army; the judge-advocate for the prisoner answered, No. The court then was cleared, and adjourned to the following Thursday (it was then Friday), desiring to have the opinion of the judges, *whether a man no longer in the army was subject to martial law.* The attorney and sollicitor generals had determined in the affirmative, grounding their sentiment on those words of the Mutiny-bill, "*All persons being officers on the 25th of March, and committing such and such faults within the course of the year,*" &c. These words being in force as long as the bill, they thought comprehended such persons for the same period.

Lord Albemarle had gone farther: he had asked if the court was empowered to inflict any punishment under capital on the delinquent. This provision of tenderness was not expected from the favorite of the Duke of Cumberland, or from one who had expressed himself warmly e[illegible] against Lord George. Private reasons were sought for this conduct

* Lord Albemarle was the favorite of the Duke of Cumberland, who was no friend to Lord George.

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by those who would not suppose that in *that* trial any motives but those of passion or interest would be hearkened to. They who canvassed Lord Albemarle's behaviour under such prejudice accounted for it by the Duke's envy of Prince Ferdinand, and desire of rescuing even that hated criminal from his vengeance—yet were those but surmizes, not corroborated by any appearance of acrimony in the complexion or conduct of the judges. So ill, however, was Lord Albemarle's obstruction of the proceedings accepted by the King, who now pushed on the trial angrily and indecently, that his mother, Lady Albemarle*, was omitted in the private nightly parties at court, and not spoken to in the morning drawing-room. The King went farther: Prince Ferdinand was impatient for the return of the officers: General Onslow, president of the court-martial, was member of another on Lord Charles Hay †, a brave but mad officer, who having in America reflected on the dilatoriness of Lord Loudun, had been put under arrest by him. Onslow at that trial was seized with an apoplectic fit, and died. The King was so impatient of any delay on Lord George Sackville's case, that the Duke of Newcastle at four in the afternoon was ordered to send to the secretary at war, then in the House of

* Lady Anne Lenox, youngest daughter of Charles, first Duke of Richmond of that line, had been lady of the bed-chamber to Queen Caroline. After the Queen's death the King had private parties at cards every night from nine to eleven in the apartment of the Princesses Amelie and Caroline, to which only the most favorite lords and ladies of the court were invited, and some of the King's grooms of the bed-chamber. She died, at an advanced age, in 1789.

† Brother of the Marquis of Tweddale.

1760. Commons, directions to have a new commission made out that very evening, that not a day might be lost. Four more members too were added to the court, to guard against any deficience, the law allowing not a greater number than twenty-one, nor less than thirteen.

Reference to judges on Lord George Sackville's trial.

Ten judges (the other two, Bathurst * and Clive, of which the former held Lord George's trial illegal, being absent on the circuit) gave their opinions, that, as far as they could then see, he might be tried; but they reserved to themselves a farther consideration, if any appeal should be made from the sentence. On the very day on which they were to deliver their opinion arrived the account of Thurot's defeat and death. There was a great court to congratulate the King; yet so impatient was he to learn the decision of the bench, that he scarce staid a moment in the drawing-room. In private he expressed, without decency, his apprehensions of what the German princes would think of his want of power, should he not be able to obtain Lord George's trial and condemnation. The moment he was certified that the trial might proceed, he named General Pulteney † president of the court in the room of Onslow; and Pulteney excusing himself, Sir Charles Howard ‡ was appointed.

March 7th, the trial recommenced. Lord George, who

* Henry Bathurst, chancellor to the late Prince of Wales, attached to the Princess-dowager, and lord high chancellor in the following reign.—A. He died in 1794.—E.

† Only brother of William, Earl of Bath.

‡ Only brother of the Earl of Carlisle, and knight of the Bath.

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treated his adversaries with little management, desired the judge-advocate to explain to Wintzenrode, Prince Ferdinand's aid-de-camp, the nature of perjury: the German replied handsomely, that he understood it both from religion and honour, and supposed it was the same in all countries.

Through the course of the trial, which, being in print, it is not necessary to recapitulate, the chief examinants were General Cholmondeley * and Lord Albemarle; both appearing unfavorable to Lord George, and the latter as little sparing Prince Ferdinand, when, by any indirect question, he could draw forth evidence of the Prince having been surprized into the battle. The rest of the court took so little share in the examination, that Cholmondeley complained of the invidious part that was forced on him. Sloper was particularly acrimonious in his evidence against Lord George, and was believed actuated by General Mordaunt, so warmly did the latter resent Lord George's practices on the miscarriage at Rochfort; though, if Lord George stirred up the prosecution of that affair, Mordaunt had only sufferred by implication: Conway was Lord George's object; but Conway was far from retorting that injury in the same manner. Lord Granby, who was actually involved in the trial as evidence, showed the same honourable and compassionate tenderness. So far from exaggerating the minutest circumstance, he palliated or suppressed whatever might load the prisoner, and seemed to

* James, only brother of George, third Earl of Cholmondeley, and much attached to the Duke of Cumberland.

1760. study nothing but how to avoid appearing a party against him—so inseperable in his bosom were valour and good-nature. That the constitution of the court itself was not unfavorable to Lord George appeared, when a question that bore hard against him being put by General Cholmondeley, and Lord Robert Bertie objecting to it, it was put to the vote, and by the majority not admitted to be asked.

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Lord George's own behaviour was most extraordinary. He had undoubtedly trusted to the superiority of his parts for extricating him. Most men in his situation would have adapted such parts to the conciliating the favour of his judges, to drawing the witnesses into contradictions, to misleading and bewildering the court, and to throwing the most specious colours on his own conduct, without offending the parties declared against him. Very different was the conduct of Lord George. From the outset, and during the whole process, he assumed a dictatorial style to the court, and treated the inferiority of their capacities as he would have done if sitting amongst them. He browbeat the witnesses, gave the lie to Sloper, and used the judge-advocate, though a very clever man, with contempt. Nothing was timid, nothing humble in his behaviour. His replies were quick and spirited. He prescribed to the court, and they acquiesced. An instant of such resolution at Minden had established his character for ever.

The trial had lasted longer than was expected. The Mutiny-bill expired. A new warrant was forced to be made

out, and the depositions were read over to the witnesses. It was the third of April before the whole proceeding was closed: the event different from what Lord George had presumed, and yet short of what he had reason to expect. The court-martial pronounced him guilty of having disobeyed Prince Ferdinand's orders, whom by his commission and instructions he was ordered to obey, and declared it their opinion that he was unfit to serve his Majesty in any military capacity whatever. 1760. Sentence of court martial.

The King confirmed the sentence, but, dissatisfied that it had gone no farther, he could not resist the ungenerous impulse of loading it with every insult in his power; impotent, as circumscribed in narrower limits than his wishes; and unjust, as exceeding the bounds of a just trial; since no man ought to be punished beyond his sentence. The court-martial's decision was directed to be given out in public orders to the army, declaring the sentence worse than death. The King struck Lord George's name out of the council-book, and forbad his appearance at court. The Lord Chamberlain too was ordered to notify that prohibition to the Prince of Wales and the Princess-dowager; and lest that should not be sufficient, the vice-chamberlain was sent to acquaint Lord Bute with it, who said, to be sure the Prince would not think of seeing Lord George while it was disagreable to his Majesty. Lord George's witnesses and friends were treated with no less cruelty. Hugo, a Hanoverian, was dismissed on his return to the army. John Smith was obliged to quit it here; and

1760. Cunningham was sent to America, though he had been there three times already. Yet not a murmur followed: as the object was obnoxious, even the dangerous precedent of persecuting witnesses who had thwarted the inclinations of the court made no impression—so much do liberty and power depend on circumstances and seasons*.

* As that trial and sentence came remarkably into question two-and-twenty years afterwards, it may not be improper to touch slightly the occasion of its being recalled; together with a few outlines of the subsequent life of a man, whose disgrace seemed to have annihilated him for ever in a political light; and who, though his restless ambition incited him again to aspire to high employments and honours, both which he attained, will never figure in history as an admired character, since he acquired no successes, no glory for his country by his councils, strengthened † rather than effaced the suspicion of his courage, almost forfeited the general opinion of his parts, and obtained no honours that were not balanced by redoubled disgraces and mortifications. He was admitted into a lucrative, though subordinate, post in Lord Rockingham's first administration; was grossly insulted by Governor Johnstone, whom he challenged and fought † with a coolness that with almost all men justly palliated or removed the imputation on his spirit. Not long after the commencement of the fatal American war he was suddenly hoisted to the management of it; in the course of which he was frequently exposed to most bitter apostrophes on his former imputed timidity, and did but give new handle to that imputation by the tameness or feebleness with which he bore or repelled those attacks; while the want of vigour in his defences, void of any emanations of parts, made his abilities as much questioned as his spirit by those who were too young to remember his former exertions. Whether his councils and plans were ill-grounded, impolitic, or unwise, or whether the recovery of America was unattainable when he entered on the office, it is certain that not only ill success attended almost

† How he *strengthened rather than effaced the suspicion of his courage*, and yet *fought with a coolness that with almost all men justly palliated or removed the imputation on his spirit*, seems rather difficult to explain, if it were any part of the duty of an editor to reconcile the contradictions of an author.—E.

1760.

Trial of Earl Ferrers.

The trial of Lord Ferrers had more solemn conclusion. To one man his crimes were advantageous. Sir Robert Henley, lord keeper, had been hoisted to that eminence by circumstances of faction; which, however, could not give weight to his decisions in Chancery. Those, as he complained, were often reversed before his face by the House of Lords without his being empowered to defend them, he not being a peer. It was proper to appoint him lord high steward for the trial of Lord Ferrers; and it was requisite, to fill that office, that he should be a peer. Henley was accordingly

every one of the measures he recommended or promoted, but two disgraces† (unparalleled so far, that *two* similar never happened to any country in any one war) befell the British arms, sufficient to blast, if not demolish, any minister so unauspiciously seconded by fortune. Yet misfortune and disgrace were not entirely the causes of Lord George's fall. The mercenary intrigue and treachery of a few of his associates tumbled him in a moment from a height which he decorated so ill—while the partiality or obstinacy of a sovereign, whose passions he implicitly obeyed, compensated his fall by the extravagant reward of a viscount's coronet. This exaltation was as abruptly and cruelly the occasion of recalling the former stigma. The Marquis of Carmarthen‡ proposed to the House of Lords to protest against the admission into their order of a man stamped by an indelible brand, and by a sentence that had never been cancelled. The positive Monarch precipitated the patent in defiance. The marquis, as unshaken, pursued his hostility, sollicited the peers to condemn the indignity offerred to them; and the new viscount was reduced in the first debate after taking his seat to hear his former sentence read to his face, and to combat in person for the Sovereign's prerogative right of giving, and his own competence of receiving, the conferred honour.—A.

† The surrenders of General Burgoyne's and Cornwallis's armies.

‡ Francis Osborne, only son of the Duke of Leeds.

1760. created a baron; but, as the seals had not taught him more law, a coronet and white staff contributed as little to give him more dignity. He despised form, even where he had little to do but to be formal. He did not want sense, and spirit still less; but he could not, or would not, stoop to so easy a lesson as that of ceremonial. Nothing is more awfull than the trial of a British peer; yet the mean appearance of the prisoner, and the vulgar awkwardness of the chief judge, made the present trial as little imposing as possible. The earl's behaviour conciliated no favour to him: it was somewhat sullen, and his defence contemptible, endeavouring to protract the time, though without address. At length he pleaded madness—unwillingly, but in compliance with the entreaties of his family. The audience was touched at the appearance of his two brothers, reduced to depose to the lunacy in their blood. But those impressions were effaced, and gave way to horror, when it appeared to the court that the earl had gloried in his shocking deed. Being easily convicted, he begged pardon of his judges for having used the plea of madness. But if his life was odious, and during his life his cowardice notorious, he showed at his death that he did not want sense, resolution, or temper. He bore the ignominy of his fate like a philosopher, and went to meet it with the ease of a gentleman. In the tedious passage of his conveyance from the Tower to Tyburn, which was impeded by the crouds that assembled round his coach, he dropped not

Trial of Earl Ferrers.

a rash word, nor one that had not sense and thought in it. Little was wanting to grace his catastrophe but less resentment to his wife, the peculiarity of being executed in his wedding-habit too strongly marking that he imputed his calamity to that source. His relation, Lady Huntingdon, the metropolitan of the Methodists, had laboured much in his last hours to profit of his fears for the honour of her sect; but, having renounced the plea of madness, he did not chuse to resign his intellects to folly. So impudent, however, were those knavish zealots, that one Loyd, a Methodist, having been robbed by his coachman, a Methodist too, Whitfield appeared at the trial before the lord mayor, and read an excommunication that he had pronounced against the coachman. They would have accepted a murderer, if a proselyte from the established church; and flattered themselves that they could shake off the infamy of a house-breaker by casting him out from their own—so brief and effectual do enthusiasts hold their own legerdemain. 1760. Execution of Earl Ferrers.

A man, whose pretensions to virtue were as equivocal as Whitfield's to sanctity, took upon him about this time to lay straiter obligations on members of parliament. The plan, like that of hypocrites of all denominations, was, by coining new occasions of guilt. Sir John Philipps brought a bill into the House of Commons to oblige the members to give in particulars of their qualifications, *and to swear to the truth of them.* A known Jacobite, who and whose friends had taken the oaths to King George, ought to have been sensible that Qualification Bill.

1760. Qualification Bill.

perjury was *not* the crime at which most men stuck in that age: nor could it be hoped that they who made a seat in parliament the foundation of their fortune would not overleap any obstacle to obtain one. Pitt, James Grenville, and Beckford promoted the bill. Lord Egmont opposed it with great ability, and pointed out how much it would subject all estates to the inspection, and, consequently, to the iniquitous practices of attornies: and he showed that western estates in particular were so circumstanced, that, without double the qualification required, they would not be sufficient to answer it. Much spirit against the bill appeared in others. The Duke of Newcastle was very averse to it, but forced to swallow it a little curtailed, as Pitt insisted that something must be done to gratify the Tories. Lord Strange ridiculed it, particularly one notorious blunder: the bill directed that no man should take his seat till he had produced his qualification and sworn to it in a full house, the Speaker in the chair. This, at the opening of a new parliament, was an impossibility—by whom was the Speaker to be chosen? Young Thomas Townshend spoke warmly against it, and traced its origin to the four last disgracefull years of Queen Anne, when a like bill had been attempted by the Tories. The bill, however, passed both Houses. In the Lords, the Duke of Richmond and the Earls of Gower and Hilsborough opposed it. Lord Temple supported it insolently, threatening disunion if it were not allowed to pass. Lord Hardwicke seemed but cool towards it; yet he treated the Commons

arrogantly, and said he had winked at many things for the sake of union. Lord Gower put it home to the bishops whether the bill would not multiply perjuries—yet it was carried by *fifty* to *sixteen*, as it had been in the other House by fourscore to forty. 1760.

A bill for a militia in Scotland was less succesfull; nor could the disaffected there obtain this mode of having their arms restored. Pitt had acquiesced; but the Duke of Newcastle, the Sollicitor-general Yorke, Nugent, Lord Barrington, and the young Whigs, attacked it with all their force. Even the Scotch lord advocate spoke with spirit against it. Elliot defended it masterly; and Sir Henry Erskine went so far as to say that all Scotland would come and demand it at the bar of the House. Unluckily for that menace, the man who had most weight in that country, the Duke of Argyll, was not cordial to the bill, and it was rejected by *one hundred and ninety-four* to *eighty-four*. Militia Bills.

A proposed extension of the militia met with the same fate. It had been granted for five years. The counties which had adopted it grew tired of the expence. The Tory gentlemen were fond of this more decent mode of accepting emoluments. To humour them and George Townshend, Pitt had consented that a bill should be brought in to make the expence common to the whole kingdom, by enabling the counties where militia was raised to draw on the Exchequer. The Speaker advertised the House that this would not only be a money-bill, but must have the consent of, nay, must be

1760. recommended by, the Crown. That the King absolutely refused to give. Notice being taken of the bill's non-appearance, Lord Strange, in his frank manner, said, Why did not gentlemen speak out? was it not that his Majesty would not consent to the bill? Pitt, to draw all possible honour from what he could not bestow, replied, it was now too late in the session; but if any man would renew the motion the second day of next session, even to make the militia perpetual, he would not only second, but try to get the bill passed before the supplies—yet what were those supplies to feed but his own war, which he *boasted* had doubled the expence of any year of Queen Anne? This very year above sixteen millions were voted.

Militia Bill.

Those prodigious efforts were crowned, though not with universal, yet with most important success. In Germany the campaign was far from decisive; but in America the war was concluded. After the loss of Quebec the French retired into the heart of Canada. General Murray*, a brave and adventurous officer, with a garrison of about seven thousand men, and with the terror our arms had inspired, was left to defend the ruins of Quebec. The frost had obliged the fleet to retire. Monsieur Levi, who had succeded Montcalm, seized that last opportunity of struggling to recover their empire. Assembling a body of French, Canadians, and Indians, to the amount of ten thousand and upwards, he marched in April to

General Murray beaten at Quebec.

* The same person who, when governor of Minorca, was forced to surrender it to the Spaniards in 1782.

besiege the capital. General Murray, impatient to be cooped within walls into which the English had entered so impetuously, disdained to await a regular siege, and, with far more intrepidity than policy, marched out with inferior force, attacked the French, and was defeated. He lost his cannon, but was sufficiently fortunate in not being cut off, as he was near being, from his retreat to the city. Levi soon prepared to form the siege by land and sea, having brought up six frigates; against which we had not a single vessel. The place must have fallen into the hands of its old masters, if, on the 9th of May, Lord Colville, with two frigates, outsailing the British squadron, had not entered the river and demolished the French armament. Levi from the heights on the other side was witness to that defeat; and, judging rightly that the rest of our naval force approached, broke up his camp in haste and confusion, and retreated, leaving his artillery behind him. 1760. French retreat from Quebec.

One resource still remained—Montreal. There Monsieur de Vaudreuil, the general governor, fixed his stand, and collected the whole force of the province. But he had to deal with a man, who, as brave as Wolfe or as Murray, and as circumspect as Vaudreuil was insidious, possessed the whole system of war. Provident, methodic, conciliating, and cool, Amherst disposed his plans, adapted his measures, reconciled jarring interests, and pursued his operations with steadiness, neither precipitating nor delaying beyond the due point, and comprehending the whole under an authority which he knew

1760. how to assume, and to temper from giving disgust*. A character so composed could not shine on a sudden: it required penetration to admire him; but the finer the details,

'General Amherst takes Montreal.'

* Jeffery Amherst, afterwards made knight of the Bath, a baron of England, and commander-in-chief of the forces of Great Britain, from which post he was removed in 1782, was one of those men who, in particular circumstances, in one period of their life have performed not only great actions, but have conducted them with consummate sense and address, and who in the rest of their lives have been able to display no symptoms of genius. Amherst, who terminated the war in America with so much ability, being afterwards raised to the command of the army at home, was discovered and universally allowed to be a man of incapacity, or neglectfull of the most common details of his office. Whether conscious of his own defects, and of being incompetent to converse with men whom he knew enlightened, he seemed determined to bury his deficiency in obstinate silence; or else his pride and vanity, of which he had a tolerable share, made him disdain to communicate his paucity of ideas. No satisfaction could be extorted from him on whatever business he was consulted; nor was it much easier to obtain from him the necessary orders in his department. In 1779, when the French fleet arrived off Plymouth, he could not have given more absurd directions had he meant to betray the place; and, when every part of the coast was open to expected invasion, he was no where prepared with the common necessaries for taking the field. When reproached in parliament with his negligence and insufficience, he confirmed them by the sullen and inadequate brevity of his reply. When at last he was removed by the preponderance of the opposition in 1782, he fell as unregretted as he had remained in place despised.

General Moncke had been another of those temporary brilliants. All the depths of refined policy had seemed to have conducted and ensured his success. After the Restoration not a gleam of genius appeared, though he proved just the reverse of Amherst. Moncke had observed the most profound secrecy and dissimulation in conducting the re-establishment of the King. He seems to have thrown off all disguise in the rest of his life; though his activity remained, whenever called out. Amherst assumed reserve when he had nothing to conceal, and laid aside industry when it would have sufficed to communicate vigour to others.

the more astonishing was the result. Amherst had determined by one collective arrangement to overwhelm the last hopes of France in Canada; an object sufficiently important to justify the exertion of superabundant resources. Colonel Haviland was ordered to sail from Crownpoint, and proceed

1760.

General Amherst takes Montreal.

When men shine but once, it is probable that fortune has the chief merit in their success; and that others impute to their foresight the lucky combinations of chance in their favour.

In different parts of these Memoires I am well aware that I have given very different characters of some of the principal actors. The reason is, that, having observed them well for a long series of years, I have seen cause to change my opinions—perhaps the persons themselves altered, for who is consistent? I chuse to leave the portraits with their variations; I think they were just at each period in which they were drawn—the reader must judge from the conduct of the persons; for he will observe, that, if I vary my accounts, I produce the instances in which the actors appeared different from themselves. Lord Chatham I have described in all the lights in which he appeared—sometimes a capital statesman, and sometimes an empiric. The Duke of Cumberland I have shown to have become a most wise, philosophic, and respectable, from a haughty and insolent prince. Lord George Sackville I have spoken of with admiration of his parts, with great indecision on his spirit, with scorn of his want of judgment, and of his want of abilities in the latter part of his time. Lord Amherst was allowed for many years to have deserved the encomiums I have given to his conduct in America. The contempt conceived for him afterwards was so general, that, even while he retained his power, he had not an advocate.—A.

The author's notes were generally written many years after the text. The above unfavorable portrait of Lord Amherst was probably annexed to the MS. at the close of the American war, when political animosities obscured every impartial view of living characters. The panegyric in text was composed in 1763, Horace Walpole being then more than ever disposed to magnify the events and extol the tactics of the seven-years' war. Allowance must be made for these circumstances. We may abate something of the warmth of encomium in the text, but we must also mitigate the bitterness which forms so large an ingredient in the note.—E.

1760. directly to Montreal: General Murray was commanded to bring up all the force he could spare from Quebec. Amherst himself, with a body of ten thousand men, and reinforced by a thousand savages under Sir William Johnson, embarked on lake Ontario for the river St. Laurence; a spectacle that recalled the expeditions of ancient story, when the rudeness and novelty of naval armaments raised the first adventurers to the rank of demigods. That vast lake was to be traversed in open gallies laden with artillery, not with arrows and javelins. Wolfe, with all the formidable apparatus of modern war, had almost failed before Quebec: Amherst with barks and boats invaded Montreal, and atchieved the conquest, though, what would have daunted the heroes of antiquity, he had the cataracts to pass. He surmounted that danger with inconsiderable loss, and appeared before Montreal on the very same day with General Murray. Too many obstacles, to which Monsieur de Vaudreuil had trusted, were conquered. The place itself was little tenable. The governor took the only part that remained, that of surrendering his garrison prisoners of war. Thus was the French empire in Canada annihilated without effusion of blood. Amherst's glory was compleated by pardoning Vaudreuil's perfidy and cruelties, and by preserving the vanquished from insult and injury.

General Amherst takes Montreal.

The power of France drew as near to a period in the East Indies. Colonel Coote, Major Brereton, who fell in the contest, Major Monson, and others, carried on the war triumphantly. Lally, who left no valour unexerted, no

Successes in East Indies.

stratagem unattempted, was constantly defeated. Sir George Pococke entirely dispersed their navy in those seas after three repeated engagements. 1760.

The German war was far from drawing to a conclusion. It was next to a miracle, considering how gloomily the last campaign had terminated for the King of Prussia, that the present did not compleat his ruin. The Empress-queen's hatred and resources were by no means exhausted. She contrived, too, to keep up to the same mark the implacability of the Czarina, who, having less both to hope and to fear, may well be believed to have been actuated by bribes and pensions to her ministers. Immersed in pleasure and cool to ambition, gentle, too, to her subjects, it is not credible that the armies she poured on the King of Prussia's dominions were dispatched by feelings of her own. The danger was not the less pressing to the King. The Russians again threatened him; advanced again. The desultory Swedes still hovered over him. The Austrian force was compleat and numerous; and, if Daun was too cautious, Laudohn promised to repair by activity the marshal's circumspection. The court of Vienna seemed to applaud Laudohn's vigour, whether to animate Daun by giving him a rival, or really wishing for an opportunity to fling the command into hands more alert. The marshal, who preferred the interests of his mistress to his own glory, was not to be provoked out of his prudence. Inferior forces, he seemed to think, might be justified in rashness: superior strength, that could command time, could also ensure success; and, as his conduct had already brought the King of Prussia Campaign in Germany.

1760. to the verge of ruin, he saw no cause to precipitate measures which had and did tend so naturally to compleat the work. The King, whom experience had successively taught to be brave, to be desperate, to be circumspect, was not impatient to advance his fate. His whole conduct in this campaign evidenced that he looked on his situation as little less than hopeless; firm, however, to find an issue, if art or industry could furnish one. He entrenched himself strongly between the Elbe and the Multa, covering Saxony. Prince Henry defended Silesia; General Fouquet, preserving a communication with the latter, was posted near Glatz. Daun watched the King in a camp no less strong; while Laudohn, with a light army, shifted his quarters, and by turns threatened Silesia and Berlin—sometimes hovered over the strong places in Silesia, at others made a feint of attacking Prince Henry. The storm, however, at length seemed levelled against Schweidnitz. General Fouquet was the dupe of that *mouvement;* and, marching to cover the town, was drawn into an engagement by Laudohn near Landshut, in which the Prussians were not only totally defeated, but Fouquet himself, with two other generals, four colonels, two hundred and thirteen officers, and seven thousand men, were obliged to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners.

Prussians defeated, and General Fouquet taken.

Laudohn, eager to improve his victory, besieged Glatz and took it. He was of a nature not to stop in the career of success. The King trembled for Silesia; while, at the same time, he was kept in check by Daun's superior force. He had no longer leisure to temporize. By a secret and rapid

march he crossed the Elbe before the marshal had notice of his departure. But Daun, however wary, was not dilatory. He followed the King with an expedition which, being assisted by having a shorter cut to make, soon gave him the start of his Majesty. This was the point at which the King had pushed. When he found the marshal was advanced before him by a march of two days, the King turned suddenly back, and, while he was supposed on the borders of Silesia, appeared before the walls of Dresden. He commenced the siege with ardour; for it would admit of no delay. The glory of outwitting Daun was all the fruit reaped by this stratagem; and, unless the King flattered himself with a prospect of carrying Dresden by surprize or storm, his manœuvre was, in his circumstances, a puerile stratagem, a game of generalship not adequate to the crisis of his fortune. It seemed one of those vainglorious littlenesses which too often entered into his composition. The same mistaken appetite of applause tempted him in this very campaign to publish his poems; a superficial medley, ungratefull to the Deity, that had given him such talents, and who had not given him a genius for poetry. Achilles was a subject for Pindar's lyre, but could not strike it like Pindar.

1760. King of Prussia before Dresden.

Daun soon compensated for his error, and reached Dresden in six days after the siege was formed. He flung sixteen battalions into the town; and in three days more the King abandoned the siege. He had astonished Europe—and he was satisfied. His brother's glory was more solid. Laudohn had invested Breslau, and expected to be joined by seventy

Is obliged to raise the siege.

1760. thousand Russians. The town in the mean time was battered with incredible fury. The Russians did not appear—but Prince Henry did. He had marched from Glogau with surprizing expedition, and arrived in time to save the place. Laudohn thought fit to decamp without risking a battle; but he blocked up Neisse and Schweidnitz; and the Russians at last advanced. Three bodies of Austrians also joined, commanded by Daun, Laudohn, and Lacy. The King by large strides hastened to the defence of Silesia, and encamped at Lignitz. His own superiority of force, and the approach of the Russians, appeared to Marshal Daun the favorable moment for determining the contest. He disposed his plan for attacking the King in different quarters with all the three armies; and, to leave as little as possible to chance, he meaned to surprize him in the night. Measures so wisely taken were frustrated by the vivacity of the King. He had learned the approach of a body of Russians, and saw himself in a net. In vain had he already attempted to divide the Austrian armies; but what his stratagems could not effect, their own disposition offerred to him. Meaning to surround him, they necessarily were to act in detached bodies. He seized the lucky hour with vigour and sagacity; and, on the evening before the destined general attack, he silently quitted his position, and seized a post through which Laudohn was to pass. Daun had begun to move, when, to his inexpressible surprize, he found no enemy to encounter. The astonishment of Laudohn was not less, when, at three in the morning, he found himself opposed to the whole force of the King of Prussia. He was

King of Prussia.

fallen into the snare, and it was too late to retreat. For three hours he sustained the redoubled onsets of the Prussians; but the King, who fought to avoid a battle, as well as to gain one, exerted such desperate heroism, that at length he totally routed the Austrians. They fled, leaving the Monarch in possession of every mark of victory, but expecting each moment to have it ravished from him. Here, if ever, Marshal Daun seems to have hesitated unwisely. The Prussians were flushed with success; but such a victory was not gained without fatigue. Daun suspended his blow, and never recovered the opportunity: he lost it by waiting to ensure it. Never trusting to chance, while additional strength was in view, he detached a strong corps to meet the Russians and press them to advance. Great as the reinforcement was, it did not counterbalance the panic with which they were struck by Laudohn's defeat. They repassed the Oder with precipitation, and left the King at liberty to join Prince Henry. Marshal Daun, who was more lessened by his competitor's defeat than he could have been by any triumph of Laudohn, descended from the lofty hopes he had so reasonably entertained, and blockaded Schweidnitz. But the honour of forming a single siege was soon ravished from him by Frederic, who, having surprized and vanquished a corps under General Beck, obliged the marshal to raise the blockade and retreat precipitately to the mountains.

1760.

King of Prussia defeats Laudohn.

Daun compelled to raise the siege of Schweidnitz and retreats.

Still dangers crouded on the King as fast as he dispersed them. While he was defending Silesia, the Russians, seeing Brandenburg open, turned their invasion towards that pro-

1760. vince. Count Czernichew led on a considerable body; Daun sent them 15,000 Austrians, and the imperial army in Saxony was ordered to meet them at the gates of Berlin. Count Halsen had upheld the sinking fortune of the King in Saxony: he was now commanded to make an effort for saving Berlin; but when he had assembled all possible force, it amounted but to 15,000 men. With such scanty means, he could only be witness to the reduction of the capital, which immediately capitulated. The allied army laid the town under heavy contribution; but the Russians, who had not distinguished themselves in that war by lenity, blushed to see themselves surpassed by the excesses of the Austrians; so much did animosity surpass barbarism. Even the Swedes had hoped to come in for share of the plunder of Berlin, and were stretching thither.

Allies take Berlin.

The King, whose fortune sunk where ever he was not in person to sustain it, marched to relieve his capital. The plunderers did not await him, but, after wasting the country, retired; the Imperialists, to profit of the King's absence, and to seize Saxony, which lay at their mercy; the Russians, to form the siege of Colberg, which, however, they abandoned, and retreated. Laudohn had no better success before Cosel: and before the end of the campaign, the Swedes, too, were driven back by the alertness of General Werner.

'Abandon it.'

Still Marshal Daun's army remained entire, and superior to the King's. He had followed and watched every motion of that Prince, and both passed the Elbe on the same day. The two armies encamped near Torgau; the marshal with

every advantage of position. The King's situation was tremendous. The enemy was not to be forced from a post so judiciously chosen. Winter advanced; and Frederic had nothing but a ruined country to receive him, if defeated. The King saw the gulph that surrounded him. He saw the fruitlessness of disguising their danger to his army. He determined to fight, and told his troops that he was resolved to conquer or die. Under the awfullness of despair they attacked the enemy. The onset and the reception became the renown of such armies and such commanders. Fury animated the Prussians; intrepidity sustained the Austrians. The King's valour was correspondent to his declaration. The Marshal showed that his fire had been restrained by wisdom alone, not by want of heroism. The event was long in suspence, and fluctuated alternately, each side being often repulsed, and returning to the charge with fresh alacrity. The Prussians at last threw the enemy into disorder; and the marshal himself receiving a dangerous wound in the thigh, and being borne from the field, Count Odonnel, who succeeded to the command, found it vain to dispute the field any longer. It was nine at night in the month of November; the battle had lasted from two in the afternoon. A retreat was sounded, and made in good order by the Austrians. Dearly did the Prussians buy their victory; but in such a crisis what was too dear a price for Frederic to pay? His loss was computed at 13,000 men. The Austrians had not sufferred less; in prisoners abundantly. Four generals, 216

1760.

King of Prussia beats Daun at Torgau.

1760. officers, and 8000 private men taken, with possession of the field, were decisive in favour of the Prussians. The recovery of all Saxony, but Dresden, made the victory indisputable.

Campaign in Germany.

Prince Ferdinand's campaign was not alike resplendent in action or variety. His army had been reinforced, but was still inferior to the French commanded by Marshal Broglio. A seperate corps was under the orders of Count St. Germain, an officer of reputation, but between whom and Broglio an enmity subsisted, which made it thought unadvisable to let them act together. That they should even act in concert was little to be expected—nor did they. Prince Ferdinand reaped security from their dissentions rather than laurels. Their animosities ran so high, that Broglio ordering St. Germain to join his force with the grand army, contrary to the compact which the latter had made of commanding a distinct body, St. Germain, who was also an older officer, threw up his commission, and quitted the service of his country.

The Hereditary Prince, ever alert, had attacked a post, been beaten, and been wounded. He soon compensated for that disgrace by surprizing another detachment, in which he made the general who commanded it, and 3000 men, prisoners. That success was followed by a more considerable action at Warbourg, in which the French were again worsted by Prince Ferdinand and his heroic nephew: yet so little advantage was reaped by that atchievement, that the French soon over-ran Hesse, seized Gottingen and Munden, and were at the eve of possessing Hanover.

1760.

Campaign in Germany.

The Hereditary Prince continued his eccentric enterprizes with advantage. His ardour was well seconded by the bravery of the English troops: yet those flying rencounters rather kept off than forwarded any decisive blow. Prince Ferdinand made other detachments with like prosperity; and gained at least the glory of diverting Broglio, with very superior force, from accomplishing any point of importance. A more unaccountable expedition, on which Prince Ferdinand suddenly dispatched his nephew, at the head of a considerable force, towards the frontiers of Holland, occasioned much sollicitude in England, as the main army, already unequal to that of France, was thus rendered much weaker. King George felt it with anxiety; and though not productive of the disasters apprehended, it was far, whatever were the object of its destination, from turning to account. Cleves, indeed, fell into our hands, and the siege of Wesel was undertaken; but the French not thinking fit to leave the Hereditary Prince undisturbed in his progress, sent Monsieur de Castries, with a powerfull detachment, to interrupt the siege. The Prince, whose characteristic was quickness, did not wait to be compelled to raise the siege. He attempted to surprize the enemy, but was repulsed with loss, and received another wound. In that action fell Lord Downe*, a gallant young man, adorned with every amiable quality. Intrepid, generous, and good-natured, he had abandoned the enjoyment of an ample fortune for the pursuit of arms, to which he had an

* Henry Pleydell Dawney, Viscount Downe of Ireland.

1760. ungovernable impulse. He had parts to have distinguished him in a safer scene; and a peculiarity of humour that ornamented even his virtues. He received three wounds, and languished some weeks in torment, which he supported with indifference to every thing but the impatience of returning to his profession—but his wounds were mortal. The Prince rejoined the army, which soon after went into winter-quarters.

'Duke of Cumberland.' While the theatre of war was thus open to men so formed to shine on it, another hero, who had been excluded from the scene, was in a melancholy condition. The Duke of Cumberland, in the summer, had a stroke of palsy. He soon recovered both his speech and limbs; but the grossness of his constitution, and other disorders, made his friends apprehend he would not long survive it. Himself treated it with indifference, and with the same philosophy with which his high spirit had supported misfortunes to him more sensible.

'Earl of Clanrickard.' The martial temper of the age called forth a champion of dissimilar complexion. There was in Ireland an Earl of Clanrickard, who, even in this country, where singular characters are not uncommon, had been reckoned more than ordinarily extravagant. The Duke of Bedford had refused to let him raise a regiment. To prove his valour, he challenged the Lord-Lieutenant; who contemning so improper an adversary, the earl printed in the public papers a letter to the duke, reproaching him with rejecting the challenge, and reflecting both on his grace and his secretary, whose bones he threatened to break. Such an insult on the chief governor of a kingdom

was atrocious. The privy council of England ordered the attorney-general to commence a prosecution against the earl. Mr. Rigby, whose spirit was more questionless than the earl's, returned a challenge for himself; but the earl thought it safest to confine his prowess to the master, and forbore coming to England. Three years afterwards, when Rigby went to Ireland to qualify for a place, the privy council of that kingdom obliged Lord Clanrickard to give security for his good behaviour; and the matter was compromized. 1760.

These were the last events in the long and memorable reign of George the Second—a reign that had produced as great statesmen, orators, and heroes, as dignify the annals of whatever country. His thirteen first years were stamped with every blessing of peace, but unanimity—if disagreement is an evil to a free country, to which jealousy is perhaps essential. A rebellion and two wars called forth all our resources: the disgrace that attended the councils and prosecution of the first war served but to illustrate the abilities of the nation, which, reviving from its ignominy and calamities, carried the glory of our arms and measures to a height unknown in our story. The Prince himself was neither accessary to the one or the other. His greatest merit was bearing either fortune with calmness. Triumphant as Elizabeth and Anne, he neither presumed on the zeal of his subjects like the first, nor was so like the last as to concur in or behold an ignominious peace, that tarnished 'George the Second.'

1760.

'George the Second'

such conspicuous victories, and squandered such irrecoverable advantages. Full of years and glory, he died without a pang, and without a reverse. He left his family firmly established on a long-disputed throne, and was taken away in the moment that approaching extinction of sight and hearing made loss of life the only blessing that remained desirable.

'Dies.'

On the 25th of October he rose as usual at six, and drank his chocolate; for all his actions were invariably methodic. A quarter after seven he went into a little closet. His German *valet de chambre* in waiting heard a noise, and running in, found the King dead on the floor. In falling, he had cut his face against the corner of a bureau. He was laid on a bed and blooded, but not a drop followed: the ventricle of his heart had burst. Princess Amelie was called, and told the King wanted her. She went immediately, and thought him in a fit. Being deaf herself, she saw nothing in the chamber that indicated his being dead; and putting her face close to his, to hear if he spoke to her, she then first perceived he was lifeless.

'His character.'

The character of this Prince has been so amply displayed in the course of this work, that it were tautology to recapitulate it. His faults were more the blemishes of a private man than of a King. The affection and tenderness he invariably showed to a people over whom he had unbounded rule, forbid our wondering that he used circumscribed power with moderation. Often situated in humiliating circumstances, his resentments seldom operated when the power of

1760.

'Character of George the Second.'

revenge returned. He bore the ascendant of his ministers, who seldom were his favourites, with more patience than he sufferred any encroachment on his will from his mistresses. Content to bargain for the gratification of his two predominant passions, Hanover and money, he was almost indifferent to the rest of his royal authority, provided exterior observance was not wanting; for he comforted himself if he did not perceive the diminution of majesty, though it was notorious to all the rest of the world. Yet he was not so totally careless of the affection and interests of this country as his father had been. George the First possessed a sounder understanding and a better temper: yet George the Second gained more by being compared with his eldest son, than he lost if paralleled with his father. His treatment of his second son, to whose valour he was indebted for the preservation of his crown, and to the silence and tenderness of whose duty he owed the preservation of his honour, was punished by the ingratitude of the Princess of Wales. Bookish men have censured his neglect of litterature—a reflection that at least is evidence that public utility is not the sole purport of their labours. But the advantages resulting to their country from authors must be better ascertained, before the imputation becomes a grave one. Had he pensioned half a dozen poets, and reaped their incense, the world had heard of nothing but his liberality. Let Kings prefer a Tillotson or a Seneca, nay, a Bacon or a Newton—if Bacon or Seneca will not forget their philosophy. Let them enrich such angelic men, when

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there are such angelic men, as Dr. Hales*: but money is as well hoarded as squandered on Boileaus and Benserades, on Atterburys and Drydens. In truth, I believe King George would have preferred a guinea to a composition as perfect as Alexander's Feast. He certainly did not spare rewards to those who served their country. The profusion of favours which he sufferred the Duke of Newcastle to shower on the university of Cambridge ought to disculpate the King from the charge of neglecting litterature—it was the fault of that body if they were not learned. If dying but moderately rich were as good a proof that he had not been avaricious, one of the greatest stains of his character would be effaced. By his will he gave fifty thousand pounds between his three surviving children, the Duke, Princess Amelie, and Mary, Princess of Hesse: a strong box, not to be opened, to Lady Yarmouth. The rest of his private fortune he had given by a deed, executed soon after the battle of Culloden, and unrevoked, to the Duke of Cumberland; who thence became heir to his jewels (sold afterwards to the successor for about fifty thousand pounds), and to his mortgages in Germany, amounting to about an hundred and fourscore thousand more. A scanty pittance, if compared with what he must have amassed in a reign of three and thirty years. For part of that term he had received yearly to his own use an hundred thousand pounds from the civil list, and never less than fifty thousand; relin-

'His will.'

* Dr. Stephen Hales, parson of Teddington, chaplain to Augusta, Princess of Wales, author of several most humane and philosophic works.

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'George the Second.'

quishing the rest to the disposal of his ministers for necessary services! At his accession he was worth three hundred thousand pounds. The revenues of Hanover exceed five hundred thousand pounds a year; a sum he by no means expended. Reduce his savings to the lowest, discount his purchases, and swell Lady Yarmouth's legacy, which was given out to be ten thousand pounds, to four times that sum; and allow two millions, which his last war is said to have cost him in defence of Hanover; it will still be difficult to believe that he did not die worth three hundred and fifty thousand pounds —what became of the rest, or how concealed if there was more, I pretend not to determine, nor even to guess.

The King himself had stated his late expence for Hanover still higher than I have set down. Mr. Onslow, the Speaker showed me a remarkable paper, which had been brought to him at the King's command, in the year 1758, by Baron Munchausen *, with whom Mr. Onslow had no acquaintance. In that memorandum the King declared that he had then expended on the war 2,500,000*l.* the savings of thirty years; that he had borrowed above 200,000*l.* here in England, as much more in Germany, and that the Hanoverian chancery of war owed 200,000 rix-dollars. "The King," concluded the paper, "can do no more himself towards the war."—If he did more in the two following years, and it has never been pretended that he stopped his hand in 1758, his remaining ability to go on induces a suspicion that there was as little exactness

* The minister for Hanover in England.

1760.

observed in stating the rest of the account. On the envelope of Munchausen's paper Mr. Onslow had written, "I could send no answer to this."

'George the Second's will

The morning after the King's death, the Duke of Cumberland sent for Lord Waldegrave, and told him, that if, as Lady Yarmouth believed, no new will had been made since that in Princess Amelie's hands, his father had done greatly for him—not, however, so largely as he had once purposed: he had said to the Duke, "William, I see you will never marry; it is in vain to think of making a great establishment of a new branch through you: I shall do well for you for your life; yet not so large as I should have done in that case." This certainly intimated a project of leaving his purchased principalities in Germany to the Duke.

'Anecdote of George the First's will.

Lord Waldegrave in return showed his Royal Highness an *extraordinary* piece; it was endorsed, *very private paper*, and was a letter from the Duke of Newcastle to the first Earl of Waldegrave; in which his grace informed the Earl *, that he had received by the messenger the copy of the will and codicil of George the First; that he had delivered it to his Majesty, who put it into the fire without opening it—"so," adds the duke, "we do not know whether it confirms the other or not:" and he proceeds to say, "I dispatch a messenger to the Duke of Wolfenbuttle with the treaty, in which is granted all he desires; and we expect by the return of the messenger the original will from him." George the First had

* Then ambassador in France.

1760.

'Anecdote of George the First's will.'

left two wills; one in the hands of Dr. Wake, archbishop of Canterbury, the other with the Duke of Wolfenbuttle. The archbishop, on news of the King's death, carried his copy to the privy council, and, without the precaution of opening it before them, which the poor man could not apprehend would be so necessary as it proved, gave it into the new King's hands, who, to the prelate's great surprize, carried it from council *unopened* *. The letter I have quoted above shows what was the fate of the other copy: the honest Duke of Wolfenbuttle sold it for a subsidy! George the First had been in the right to take those precautions: he himself had burned his wife's testament †, and her father's, the Duke of Zell, both of whom had made George the Second their heir—a palliative of the latter's obliquity, if justice would allow of any violation.

* It was believed that George the First had bequeathed a large sum to his daughter, the Queen of Prussia, and another to his mistress, or rather left-handed wife, the Duchess of Kendal. Frederic the Second, King of Prussia, was said to have often claimed his mother's legacy; and the Earl of Chesterfield, who married the Countess of Walsingham, niece and heiress of the Duchess of Kendal, commenced or threatened a suit for the duchess's legacy, and was supposed to be quieted by a sum of twenty thousand pounds. Lady Walsingham was believed to be the King's daughter by the Duchess of Kendal.

† (*Vide* Appendix.)

END OF MEMOIRES OF KING GEORGE II.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

(*Vide page* 73.)

[As our author derived his information on northern and German courts, especially Dresden, from Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, of whose letters from abroad he speaks (p. 180, Vol. I.) in terms of such high commendation, and has already given extracts in the Appendix, Vol. I., a short account of that lively writer's embassies, taken in substance from the same author's MS. notes, together with a farther specimen of his correspondence concerning the court of Saxony, will not be misplaced here; at least they will afford some entertainment to the reader.]

Sir Charles Hanbury Williams was appointed envoy to Dresden in 1747, was commissioned in July, 1749, along with Mr. Anstis, garter at arms, to carry the blue riband to the Margrave of Anspach; and on Mr. Fox waving, at the request of the King, his pretensions to the treasurership of the navy, was, with a view of gratifying that gentleman, who was his intimate friend, named envoy extraordinary at Berlin. He set out for that court in May, 1750, and passed through Hanover when the King was there. From thence he was sent to the King of Poland, who was holding the diet at Warsaw, to engage his vote for the Archduke Joseph to be King of the Romans. On this progress he wrote a celebrated letter to the Duke of Newcastle at Hanover, which was sent over to England and much admired, as his ministerial

letters generally were. About this time he met the ministers of the two Empresses of Germany and Russia; reconciled those two princesses, and set out for Berlin, where he was very coldly received, and soon grew so offensive to the King, that he was, as he had predicted, recalled at his request, and sent back to Dresden in February, 1751. Sir Charles had detected the Saxon minister at Berlin, in betraying his master's and Russia's secrets to the court of Prussia; and had also exposed an artifice of the King of Prussia in making a Tartar, sent to release a countryman who had enlisted in the Prussian army, pass for a deputy or minister from the disaffected in Russian Tartary. These circumstances, and his satirical tongue, and yet more * satirical pen, combined to exasperate the King of Prussia. It was, he said in his private letters, "in vain to contend with so mighty a prince, and he became the sacrifice." However, in 1753, he was sent to Vienna to demand the assistance of that court in case Prussia should proceed to extremities after stopping the Silesian loan; and in his triple capacity of minister, courtier, and poet, he composed the following distich on the Empress Queen:

Oh Regina orbis prima et pulcherrima! ridens
Es Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens.

The general style of his poetry was far from being so complimentary; and that of his prose, though not so well known, and often too licentious for publication, was to the full as easy, lively, and humorous as his verse. After returning to England he was again appointed to Dresden, and attended the King of Poland to Warsaw, in 1754, where, upon espousing very warmly the interests of the Poniatowskys in an affair called the disposition of the Ostrog, he came to an open rupture with Count Bruhl. He shortly afterwards concluded a subsidiary treaty with Russia, and was named embassador to Peters-

* See Vol. I page 509.

burgh in 1755. He returned to England in 1758, and died in 1759.

The following letter was written on his first arrival at Dresden, and before any quarrel with Count Bruhl. Though addressed to a private friend, it seems nearly a duplicate of his public dispatch. It is no unfavourable specimen of his correspondence, but is perhaps less enlivened by anecdote, as well as less disfigured by indecencies, than many of his epistolary compositions from Germany.

Dear Sir,

The short time that I have been abroad, would, in any other court, have hardly been sufficient to have formed a judgment, or given a description of it; but this, where I am, is so easy to be understood, that an understanding as mean as mine may see into it as clearly in a month's time as in ten years.

The King's absolute and avowed hatred to all business, and his known love for idleness and low pleasures, such as operas, plays, masquerades, tilts and tournaments, balls, hunting, and shooting, prevent both him and his country from making that figure in Europe which this noble electorate ought to do, and often has done. As to the King himself, he is very polite and well-bred, and his natural abilities far from bad ones. I have very often (much oftener than any minister here) the honour of conversing with him, and I must say, that he talks better, and makes juster judgments on affairs, than any other person I have met with in this court: but he won't dwell long upon politics. 'Tis visible that he soon grows uneasy, and then you must change the discourse to the last stag that he hunted, the last opera that was acted, or the last picture that he has bought. Immediately you perceive that his countenance clears up, and he talks on with pleasure. From these subjects 'tis easy to lead him back to any other you please, always taking care to observe his countenance, which is a very speaking one. He is seldom seen when at Dresden but at dinner. He always dines with company, and his

buffoons make a great noise, and fight with one another during the whole repast, which is quite over by two o'clock; and then his Majesty retires to his own apartments, undresses totally, and then puts on his night-gown, in which he sits the rest of the day. Nobody must come to him at that time but Count Bruhl, Father Guerini, and the buffoon. He has had a great loss in the Electress of Bavaria being married, for she often came to him in the afternoon, and they have been surprized together in very indecent postures. The Queen knew this, and was furious about it. She complained of it to her confessor; but the good jesuit told her, that since things were so, it was much better that the King's affections should remain in his own family, than be fixed upon a stranger, who might be a Lutheran, and do prejudice to their holy religion; and by this these holy casuists appeased her angry Majesty.

The whole court is now gaping to see who will succeed the Electress, for his Majesty's constitution requires somebody besides the Queen. The King is excessively fond of hunting, and 'tis reckoned that the game of all sorts (which is strictly preserved for him) do £50,000 per annum of damage to this country. I have myself seen fifty stags a feeding in one corn-field; and to take care of all his game and forests, there are no less than 4000 persons in constant pay.

The expenses of this court of every sort are in proportion with that of the chase. After this, Sir, you will not be surprized when I tell you, that the debts of this electorate (all incurred since this King came into possession of it) are near four millions sterling, and that their credit is quite ruined; but the King will not hear of the expenses of the court being lessened. He has no idea of the state of his country; but as he finds himself easy, he thinks and wishes his people to be so too. He is not beloved nor respected. His never heading his army, and his precipitate flight from Dresden at the King of Prussia's approach, did him more injury in the minds of the Saxons, than he will ever be able to retrieve.

Her Majesty the Queen is very devout, but not a bit the better for her devotions: she does nothing but commit small sins, and beg forgiveness for them. She is ugly beyond painting, and malicious beyond expression. Her violent hatred to the Empress Queen, and her great love to all her enemies, make me rejoice that she has not the least influence at this court. She has much impotent aversion to Count Bruhl: he hates her Majesty in return, but then he makes her feel his power. She meddles much in the lowest things, such as disgracing or restoring a buffoon to favour; disposing the parts of an opera, and giving the preference to such and such a dancer; and even this she never does by merit, but he or she that comes oftenest to mass has the best parts and the first rank. The Italians are much favoured here. They are divided into two parties, one of which is headed by Father Guerini, who first placed the colony here; the other, which is the most powerful, has the Faustina for its leader; and the two chiefs have by turns vented their complaints against each other to me, till I could hardly keep my countenance. But to return to her Majesty: I look upon her to be thoroughly in the French interests. She is not at all beloved, nor does she deserve it, for she does no good to any body but converts, and very little to them.

I am next to speak of the Electoral Prince. You know, Sir, his person is bad, and his backbone so disjointed, that he cannot stand without two people to support him. The weakness of his body has hurt his mind. His parts, if he ever had any, are much decayed; but he is civil, good, and well-tempered. His education has been extremely bad; he knows nothing. He asked 'tother day at table, whether, though England were an island, one could not go there by land? judge of the rest by this. When he walks, supported or rather dragged along by two people, his knees almost touch his stomach; and the Duchess of Courland (who is our good friend at this court) told me that she saw him in bed on his wedding night, and that he lay in the same posture there; so that she did not com-

prehend how matters could be accomplished. The court, however, swear that (the marriage was then consummated). He is at present wholly devoted to his new bride, about whom I must say a little, having the happiness, by her permission, to see her very often.

She is far from being handsome or well made; but then she is infinitely agreeable in her manner, and very well-bred. She talks much, and is very entertaining. When she first came, she had flattered herself with hopes of succeeding the Electress, and attacked the King the first night, but without success. He seemed rather disgusted with her advances, and since that time she has not recovered the ground she then lost. All * this I have also from the Duchess of Courland. Before she came here she was reckoned to meddle much in polities, and to be in the French interests. She denies all this herself, and declares against women's meddling in state affairs; but I will venture to prophesy, that if ever the Prince Electoral should outlive his father, she will govern this country most absolutely. Hitherto she is much liked and admired by all who come near her, for her address is very engaging, and not at all like the Queen's.

The King has four younger sons, and three unmarried daughters. As to the princesses I can say nothing of them, but that they are very young and very plain.

Prince Xavier is next to the Prince Royal, and has always been the Queen's favourite, and she tried every way to persuade the Prince Electoral to go into orders that this Prince might succeed his father. His person is good, and I believe his natural parts are so too, but his education has been very unfortunate. He is sixteen years of age, and has hitherto been taught nothing but bodily exer-

* It is perhaps more reasonable, and certainly more charitable, to suspect Sir Charles of credulity, and his female informant of malignity, than to believe the tales of incest and licentious effrontery reported in this letter. On the other hand, it must be acknowledged that the general state of manners in German courts in the middle of last century by no means disproves such imputations.—E.

cises; and they do not seem to think in this country, that a prince wants any accomplishments who can dance, fence, ride at the ring, and shoot at the mark. This Prince has not yet learned common good manners, and is almost a stranger to common decency. The French ambassador and I dined with him the other day, and the whole time we were at table he talked to the pages behind him, and what he said to them was in German. Monsieur des Issarts was quite out of humour at the treatment he met with: I was only sorry for the Prince. But to end his character, those who are best acquainted with him tell me he is very proud and very malicious. 'Tis publicly known that he hates his elder brother; but his pride is much abated, and his spirits much sunk since the Electoral Prince's marriage, which was a thing that he had been taught to believe never would happen. Still he flatters himself with the hope that if the King his father should die, he should succeed him in the throne of Poland.

Prince Charles is next; he is a fine youth about thirteen: his person is good, and he has great quickness of parts; but as he labours under the misfortune of having the same wretched education as his brothers have had, 'tis impossible to say how he will turn out; and here I must observe, that the scarcity of men of ability is so great in this country, that out of four governors employed in the education of these princes, there is not one who is a Saxon.

The two other Princes, Albert and Clement, are both so young, that I can say nothing about them.

Having now, Sir, gone through the royal family, I shall speak of their fine country, which, I believe, produces more to its sovereign than any other district of land of the same size in Europe. The last grant of the diet of Saxony was between eight and nine million of dollars (each dollar exactly three shillings and sixpence English money) per annum for nine years; yet 'tis likely that the whole may be anticipated and spent in five, and then the King calls a new diet and gets fresh supplies, so that 'tis not possible to say exactly what the King's revenues are; but every body must see that they are very

large, and how the people will continue such payments begins to be a question. It is certain this country grows daily poorer, which is very visible by the decay of Leipsick fair. Every body agrees that the last Easter fair was not half so good as it used to be; and this fair is the touchstone of the trade and money in this electorate. The loss and expenses their own bad politics have drawn them into during this war, have been very great; and the visit the King of Prussia made to Dresden was very expensive to this country; but above all, the visible decay of their linens and tinned iron manufactures (which England has been wise enough not to want any longer in such great quantities from foreign countries), is a blow that is felt more severely than can be expressed. The Stier bills, which are the funds here, and which always used to bear a premium, are now at 5 and 6 per cent discount; and 'tis very difficult to negotiate them even at that price, though they carry 5 per cent interest. I have been offered some, whose principal is due at Michaelmas, 1748, at 7 per cent discount. This being so, you see that their credit is exhausted, and that they would hardly be able to borrow under 10 per cent; and yet they must take up money, or their army will mutiny, for their officers are most of 'em twelve or fifteen months in arrear. In the midst of all these difficulties the court has squandered away above £200,000 sterling at the late double marriages; given £100,000 sterling for the Duke of Modena's gallery of pictures: and Count Bruhl alone cannot spend so little as £60,000 sterling a year. The pensions also that the King gives in Poland exceed the revenues he receives from thence by full £50,000 per annum.

It is now necessary I should say something of the person to whom the King commits the entire care of this country. Count Bruhl is originally of a good family, but as he was a page to the late King, so he had the education of a page. His natural parts, without being very good, are certainly better than any other person's I have hitherto conversed with at this court. He was employed by the late King in high employments, but never touched the zenith of power

till after the fall of Monsieur Sulkowsky, who was his predecessor in the present King's favour. Sulkowsky lost it by absenting himself from the King's person to make campaigns in Hungary and upon the Rhine. As Count Bruhl profited by this false step of Sulkowsky, he is resolved no person shall ever have such an advantage over him: he is never absent from the King's person, and he pays the closest attention to every thing his Majesty says or does, though he himself is naturally very idle. His every day is past in the following manner: he rises before six in the morning, then Father Guerini comes to him to talk upon business, and to read over whatever letters they receive, and then they send such of them as they please to the privy council; but if any body comes in, business is laid aside, and he is very ready to talk upon indifferent matters. Afterwards he dresses, which takes up above an hour, and he is obliged to be with the King before nine. He stays with him till his Majesty goes to mass, which he does exactly at eleven; and then Count Bruhl goes to the Countess Moyenska, where he stays till twelve; from thence he goes either to dinner with the King, or to his own house, with a few of the lowest and worst people of this court.

After dinner he undresses and goes to sleep till five, when father Guerini comes and sits with him while he dresses, and at six he goes again to the King, with whom he stays till after seven; from thence he goes to some assembly, where he plays at cards very deep, the Countess Moyenska being always of the party, who plays very well, and wins considerable sums of the Count; rather before ten he sits down to supper, and from thence he goes to bed about twelve.

Now as every thing of every kind, from the highest affairs of state down to operas and hunting, are all in Count Bruhl's immediate care, I leave you to judge how his post is executed, by the time he takes to do business in. His expenses are immense: he keeps three hundred servants, and as many horses. His house is in extreme bad taste and extravagance. He has at least a dozen country seats,

where he is always building and altering, but which he never sees. It is said, and I believe it, that he takes money for every thing the King disposes of in Poland, where they frequently have very great employments to bestow. Every body here reckons that he is not sincere, but for my own part I have as yet no great reason to think so. He is very communicative to me, and very patient to hear whatever I have to say. He is certainly not an ill-natured man, having never done a hard or cruel thing to any person that I heard of since he has been in power. He is very vain, and a little flattery is absolutely necessary for those who intend being well with him; and my notion of the duty of a foreign minister is, that after serving his master to the utmost of his power and ability, he ought to make himself as agreeable as possible at the court he is sent to. From this way of thinking, I have endeavoured to cultivate the King of Poland and his minister as much as possible; because a time may come when my being well with this court may be of some small service to the King my master. Count Bruhl is polite, civil, and very ready to oblige; and, after the first ceremonies are over, without any forms. If he has any principle in politics, 'tis certainly favourable to the house of Austria. That, indeed, is not much, but it is more than any other person has that belongs to this court; and whenever he falls we shall fall into worse hands. He has been very negligent of support at court, having never, during his long administration, made himself one friend of any great consequence. The clamours now against him are very high, for the two reasons of the fall of the Stier bills, and the non-payment of the army. The man that heads these complaints, and whom 'tis possible his Majesty may remember to have seen at Hanover, is one Count Linard, a Saxon, whom I take to be thoroughly in the French interests. He has but moderate parts, and very little literature; but in Saxon learning he is very deep. He rides, shoots, and dances better than any body here; and by these accomplishments he has got himself into a good degree of the King's favour, and

flatters himself that whenever the minister falls, he is the man that is to succeed him. I know he has been contriving to get a body of officers to throw themselves at the King's feet to complain of Count Bruhl, and to demand their pay. By means of a spy that I had at court I discovered this affair, and told Count Bruhl of it. He owned things were as I said, and added, that he did not expect nor deserve such usage from Count Linard; but two days afterwards he told me that my information was very true, and that he had taken such measures upon it as would perfectly secure him. I have since had the misfortune to lose my spy, who is fled for having got a woman with child, he being a married man, and adultery in this country is punished with death.

The next person I shall speak of is Father Guerini, a Jesuit, who is more in the King's favour than in any credit. He has been long in the service, and is now kept, like an old horse, for what he has formerly done. He is Count Bruhl's absolute creature, and has his confidence. He is perpetually with the King and Queen, and constantly employed in making up some quarrel among the singers and dancers. If he ever had any parts, they were gone before I came; but he is a good, trifling old man, and, though a priest, has no ambition. He has twice refused a cardinal's hat; and the last time, which was not above half a year ago, the King pressed him to it very much, but in vain. I go to him very often; for he often comes out with things that he is trusted with, and which I am sure he ought not to tell.

The next person to Count Bruhl in business is one Heinnech, a low man, who once wore a livery, though he now wears the blue riband of Russia. He talks no French, and we converse in Latin; but Monsieur Heinnech has so quarreled with all moods and tenses, numbers and cases, that 'tis with difficulty I understand him. If I guess right at what he says to me, he is very ignorant of the affairs I talk about. He is *chef des finances;* and it is said that Count Bruhl

and he know so many bad things of each other with respect to the disposal of public money, that 'tis impossible they should ever quarrel. He is the minister's right hand for domestic affairs, as Mr. Saul is for foreign ones, who in that province does every thing. He is also a very low man; but he has parts, quickness, and knowledge, without the least appearance of fashion or manners of a gentleman. There is not a man in Saxony that does not detest him, except his patron, Count Bruhl, to whom he is certainly very useful. Heinnech went so far once as to propose in the privy council to hang him. He has very strange schemes in his head; he is certainly for the House of Austria, but in a manner peculiar to himself; *for he wishes to see that House strictly united with that of Bourbon, and believes that a * practicable business.* He is secretary to the cabinet council, in conjunction with Mr. Walter, who is a very honest knowing man, well-intentioned, and quite in the true system, but at present hardly employed at all, to our great misfortune.

These persons govern under Count Bruhl, as the Countess Moyenska does over him—

. . . . . orbi
Jupiter imponit jura, sed illa Jovi.

She is thoroughly hated, having all bad qualities that can unite in one person, among which pride, avarice, and revenge shine most conspicuous. She has certainly received money in large sums from France; but as that is received, and there is no immediate prospect of more, I think her violence against us seems to abate. I thought it my business to do all I could to be well with her, and I am now of all her parties. My reception, when I first went, was very cold; but I expected that, and persisted in going till I came to be very well received.

* This passage, written in 1747, is remarkable; for Mr. Saul's "*scheme*" was proved to be a "*practicable business*" in the course of a few years.—E.

I shall now say a word or two of their army. They aver that they have 44,000 men, but they really have but 33,000. To all appearance they are very fine ones, especially the cavalry; but as I have already told you how ill they are paid, you must see that without a large sum to put them in motion, 'tis impossible they should act out of their own country. As to their generals, Count Rotosha and the Chevalier de Saxe, both natural sons of the late King of Poland, are at the head of the army. They are not wanting in abilities and knowledge; but they are both the idlest and most inactive of all mankind, and both bitter enemies of the House of Austria, because they reckon they were sacrificed by Prince Charles at the battle of Keisersdorf. There is also in this service a Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, who was formerly in the King of Prussia's, but who was discharged from thence upon suspicion of cowardice. He afterwards served as a volunteer in the armies of the Empress Queen; but they would not give him any command at Vienna. At last the father, about a year and a half ago, brought him to Leipsick fair, presented and recommended him to the King of Poland, and begged he would make him a lieutenant-general in his army. The King answered he would consider of it. Upon this the old Prince came out into the antichamber, and told every body that the King had made his son Eugene a lieutenant-general, and got his commission immediately made out, which the good King, rather than have the trouble of a dispute, signed; and he is in this service.

There is another general here, a Frenchman, named D'Ollone, who was in the service of their Imperial Majesties; but being sent hither, about eight months ago, to regulate some differences about the Saxon troops, when they were in Bohemia, he talked so fast, and played so deep with Count Bruhl, that he thought him the greatest officer of the age, and at once offered to make him general of foot (whereas he had been but lieutenant-general under their Imperial Majesties). This offer D'Ollone readily accepted, and entered into this service; but in a month's time all D'Ollone's talk was out, and

he had won too much of Count Bruhl's money; so he quickly grew out of favour, and was found to be a man of no parts or consequence. In short, both parties are heartily sick of their bargain. He curses the day he was taken, and they the day they took him.

I hope you will excuse my mentioning these two last stories; but I mean them more for entertainment than information, though they are both strictly true, and serve a little to illustrate the characters of the King of Poland and his first minister.

I must now inform you of what I judge to be the views and wishes of this court. The King of Poland most ardently desires to see a peace made. He loves peace so much, that I believe he is not much concerned about what sort of a one it may be: but till that happy hour arrives, their system here (if they have any system) is to observe an impracticable neutrality; and by the fear they have of offending any body (which is the natural consequence of such a system), they take care to oblige nobody. The court of Vienna is very much dissatisfied with their proceedings at Dresden; but the ministry of Versailles are often full as discontented with the steps they take. Russia alone is the power to which the King pays real court. 'Tis by the Czarina only that the King keeps possession of the throne of Poland; for his affairs in that kingdom are in so bad a situation, and his interest there so very low, that the grand marshal, the grand chancellor, and many other Poles of distinction that came here upon the late double marriages, told me, in my first week's acquaintance with them, that if it was not for fear of Russia they would dethrone their King in half a year and choose another; for that he had broken through every promise that he had ever made them, and had not kept one tittle of the *pacta conventa*. The ministry were so sensible that all this is true, that the court goes into Poland early the next spring in order to manage that people, and to conciliate their minds to the House of Saxony; for the King has the succession of that crown in his family much at heart; and this, if ever it does happen, must be brought about by Russia. After all this, judge of the

weight the court of Petersburgh must have with that of Dresden. For my part, I give it as an opinion, by which I will abide, and which I can prove by facts, that whenever there is a minister at Dresden, sent by the Czarina with absolute instructions to act in concert with those of his Majesty and his allies, Saxony must do whatever they please.

There is something unfortunate between this court and that of Vienna. They never were perfectly well together for six weeks at a time. This King thinks that it was entirely owing to him that the imperial dignity returned to the House of Austria, and that their Imperial Majesties can never do enough to repay that obligation. The court of Vienna says, that she placed the Elector of Saxony on the throne of Poland (for doing which she has certainly since been a great sufferer), without having any returns of gratitude from the court of Dresden. 'Tis indeed true, that at a time when the Empress Queen is fully employed, and unable to pay much attention to small things, this court shews her very little regard. The Austrian court sees this, and resents it tacitly very much. They have not yet thought fit to appoint any body to succeed Esterhazy here, and they talked of sending only a resident, at which this court seems much offended. As to Prussia, this court has not yet recovered the wounds nor the fright which it lately received from that quarter. With respect to France, their heads here were so turned with the marriage of the Dauphiness, that they are not yet quite settled. They are still pensioners to that crown, but their treaty of subsidy expires next February. I flatter myself that it will not be renewed: nothing but poverty can make them do it. I have asked Count Bruhl twenty times how it was possible to rely in the least upon a power who would at any time sacrifice this country (because it is their interest so to do, which the French understand but too well) at a moment's warning to their hated and dreaded foe, the King of Prussia. But the real cause that lost the allies this court, and threw it into the arms of France, was Mr. Calhoen, who, when minister from Holland, had orders from his

masters to treat about the taking a body of Saxon troops into their pay. He did indeed make the proposition; but at the same time prevented the success of it by telling Count Bruhl, that though, by his office, he was obliged to ask for a body of Saxon troops, yet, as a friend to the Court of Dresden, he could not help saying that he doubted whether they would be well or regularly paid for them. Thus did this perfidious Dutchman talk, and easily persuaded Count Bruhl (who thought of nothing but the money) to refuse the troops. The minister from this court to the States General is a Frenchman, and heartily in the interest of his country; and all his letters that come here are as partial to our enemies and as prejudicial to his Majesty and his allies as possible; and indeed this whole court is so thoroughly Frenchified, that upon the late successes of our fleets, and the late battle won by our allies in Italy, I don't think that I was congratulated by five people here, and those few that did wish me joy did it in a whisper. I can't help mentioning one thing upon which this court value themselves, and make a merit of to me. They say it is their influence over the King of the Two Sicilies (because he married their daughter) that has prevented his marching against our allies in Lombardy; but such counters as these are never taken in payment.

Thus far I got Mr. Stephens to copy almost word for word a letter I wrote to Lord Chesterfield, by the same messenger that brings you this; and therefore it should not be shewn to every body; but I hope it will divert Lord Ilchester and the Duke of Marlborough. If it had been wrote to you in my own way, I could have made you laugh heartily. You observe that Monsieur Bruhl, like all first ministers, keeps the lowest company. I wish I dared write all I could; but things are not yet ripe. The first opportunity you shall have a packet of curiosities.

I am ever entirely yours,

C. HANBURY WILLIAMS.

Dresden, 27th August, 1745, N. S.

* * *

(*Vide page* 459.)

I LEARNED from Henrietta, Countess of Suffolk, mistress to George the Second, the fact mentioned in text, of George the First burning his wife's testament. That Princess, the Electress of Hanover, liked the famous Count Konismark, while her husband was at the army. The old Elector, father of George the First, ordered him away. The Electress, then hereditary Princess, was persuaded to let him kiss her hand before his departure. She saw him in bed—he retired, and was never heard of more. When George the Second went first to Hanover after his father's death, and made some alterations in the palace, the body of Konismark was found under the floor of the chamber next to the Electress's chamber: he had been strangled immediately on leaving her, by the old Elector's order, and buried under the floor. This fact *Queen Caroline related to my father*, Sir Robert Walpole. George the Second told it to his wife, but never to his mistress, Lady Suffolk, who had never heard it till I told it to her many years after. The Electress was separated from George I. on that amour, and was called Duchess of Halle; and he married the Duchess of Kendal with his left hand. When the French threatened Hanover in Queen Anne's war, the Duchess of Halle was sent to her parents, the Duke and Duchess of Zell, who doated on her their only child, and she staid a year with them; but though they were most earnest to retain her, she was forced to return to her confinement, in which she died the year before her husband. Some French prophetess, as supposed hired by the Duke of Zell, warned George I. to take care of his wife, for he would not long outlive her. As the Germans are very superstitious, he believed the prophecy; and when he took leave of his son and the

Princess of Wales, Caroline, he told them he should never see them more. George II., who hated his father and was very fond of his mother, meant, if she had survived her husband, to bring her over, and declare her Queen Dowager. Lady Suffolk told me, that the morning after the news of the death of George I. arrived, when she went, as woman of the bedchamber, to the new Queen, she found a whole and half-length portraits of the Electress hung up in the apartment; George II. had had them locked up, but had not dared to produce them. Princess Amelie has the half-length at her house in Cavendish Square. George I. told the Duchess of Kendal, that if he could, he would appear to her after his death. Soon after that event, a large bird, I forget of what sort, flew into her window. She believed it was the King's soul, and took the utmost care of it. George II. was not less credulous; he believed in vampires. His son Frederic affected the same contradictory fondness for his grandfather, and erected the statue of George I. in Leicester-fields; and intended, if he had come to the crown, to place a monument to his memory in St. Paul's.

George I., besides the Duchess of Kendal, had several other mistresses, particularly one whom he brought over and created Countess of Darlington; by whom he was father of Charlotte, Viscountess Howe, though she was not publicly avowed. In the last year or two of his life he had another mistress, Miss Anne Brett, daughter, by her second husband, Colonel Brett, of the famous divorced Countess of Macclesfield, mother of Savage the poet. Miss Brett had an apartment given to her in the palace at St. James's, and was to have been created a countess if the King had returned.

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